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THE EXPERIENCES OF FIVE INNER-CITY INTERNS

**A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Stephen Philippe Rushton
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my ever encouraging father, Dr. John Philippe Rushton, whose belief in my abilities and unyielding support made this possible. It is also dedicated to the loving memory of my grandmother, the late Andrea Elizabeth Rushton whose writing ability and insights continue to reside and live within me. I further dedicated this work to my Grandfather, John Rushton, who died during the writing of this dissertation and whose love and respect for me never ceased. Finally, I dedicate this work to Elizabeth, my dearest and most cherished friend. Thank-you all.

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I am indebted to the five participating interns who were willing to take their valuable time in order for me to accomplish this task. Their willingness to express their experiences and perceptions of working in an inner-city school provided the basis for this dissertation. I deeply appreciate their candid response, honesty and sincerity.

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study, based on a blending of symbolic interactionism and narrative inquiry examined the experiences and perceptions of five women interns as they completed a fifth-year Master's internship in two inner-city schools. The interns gave accounts, both oral and written, of their experiences over the course of a year. The raw data consisted of four personal interviews with each intern (spaced evenly apart over a nine months), twelve written 'reflections' by the interns about events they had experienced during the previous week (for a period of three months), and weekly discussion-groups provided by the interns based on their written reflections. All oral reports were transcribed. The data were then analyzed and a 'narrative vignette' was produced to describe each intern's 'story' of working in an inner-city school.

The results indicated that interns' concerns typically centered on themes of conflict. Although the interns differed among themselves about which issues became salient and wide individual differences were noted in both the duration and intensity of the feelings of conflict, it was possible to organize their concerns into three major categories. These were: (a) conflicts with the environment - e.g., pupils' home lives, inner-city culture, the university; (b) conflicts with others - e.g., mentoring- teachers, supervisors, pupils; and (c) conflicts with self - e.g., abilities, values, beliefs.

A model was formulated of how interns processed their conflicts, many of which arose from the clash of cultures (i.e., the interns' expectations based on their backgrounds versus the realities of working in inner-city schools). Specifically, the model describes the process that student-teachers' typically went through as they resolved their conflicts.

Stage 1 was the interns' initial experience of conflict after exposure to a discomfiting element. Stage 2 was the interns' disequilibrium as they become unsure of what to do or what their beliefs were. Stage 3 was a period of growth as interns' struggled to resolve their conflicts. Stage 4, not reached by all interns on all issues, was a feeling of empowerment characterized by feelings of maturity, confidence, insight, and a willingness to take risks.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Teaching is an interesting and exciting way of life and now, when it is so entirely clear that nothing less than our national security and well-being depends on the quality of teaching in our schools, we should insist that no task that our society now faces deserves more serious and competent attention than that of securing the best education for prospective teachers that our resources can provide"

Sterling M. McMurrin, Former U.S. Commissioner of Education
(cited in Conant, 1963, p.3)

In the recent Report of the National Commission on Teaching & America's Future (1996), Lee Iacocca, past president of the Chrysler Corporation, said "In a truly rational society, the best of us would be teachers, and the rest of us would have to settle for something less" (p. 24). These words, spoken by an individual known to have saved a major company from bankruptcy, carry special weight given the parallel with the plight of education described in the opening epigram. Even thirty years before this, Sterling M. McMurrin, then U.S. Commissioner of Education, indicated that American education was approaching a crisis in both quality and standards (Guest, 1993; Roth, 1989). The National Commission Report (1996) reiterated that public education had several major problems, some of whose solutions lay with teachers.

Most of the problems concerning American education have been discussed repeatedly over three decades. A proliferation of publications have promoted reforms.

Advocates have created networks of consortiums and colleges (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986, 1990, 1995; National Commission, 1993, 1996; Project Alliance 30, 1991). Attempts have been made to alert the policy makers, the general public, and educators alike, to the serious and critical state of public education.

Surveys have indicated that there is a pervasive perception that the quality of the educational system is low (Guest, 1993; Holmes, 1986). The public has not only awakened to the problems facing public education but is demanding that "something be done." Although teachers have been held accountable for many of the problems, few policy makers or researchers have stopped to listen to the teachers' perspectives and concerns. Even fewer have paused to listen to student-teachers still in training who stand to inherit the problems (Pilard, 1993; Sitter, 1986).

With the 1983 publication of A Nation at Risk: The Imperative of Educational Reform, Americans became aware that their educational system was in trouble. A "rising tide of mediocrity" became a cliché when referring to the state of affairs in public education. The Nation at Risk report, sponsored by the Carnegie Forum (1983) was a call to politicians, educators, and concerned citizens alike to begin to evaluate the existing problems in the public schools.

Many problems current in education were identified as early as the 1960's in two books: The Miseducation of American Teachers by James D. Koerner (1963) and The Education of American Teachers by James Conant (1963). Each presented compelling arguments concerning the issues perceived as damaging to education. One problem both

authors noted was the number of poorly qualified teachers. They suggested this was partly due to the low test scores of students entering education and partly due to the low academic admission standards set by the universities. Conant (1963) stated his argument forcefully: "I am bound to state quite bluntly that in most institutions whose programs I have examined, the level of general education requirements seems to me to fall below what should be demanded of prospective teachers" (p. 90). Similarly, he proclaimed, "Likewise, the academic caliber of students in Education remains a problem, as it always has....Course work in Education deserves its ill-repute. It is most often puerile, repetitious, dull, and ambiguous-incontestably" (Conant, 1963, p. 174).

Several Commissions of Inquiry called for improvement in teacher preparation. The various Carnegie Reports (1983 1986), the Project Alliance 30 (1991), the Holmes Group (1995), and The National Commission (1996) all challenged universities to set higher standards so as to attract better candidates and urged them to train teachers to have a greater understanding of the learner, and the influences of culture upon learners. Much of the responsibility and burden for the future of public education appeared to rest on the shoulders of teachers, particularly on the student-teachers who were in the process of being trained.

Today, almost thirty years after Conant (1963) and Koerner (1963) identified quality teachers as essential for improving education, yet another National Commission (1996) has reported similarly. The Commission (1996) made several points in the document, What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future namely:

- Standards of quality need to be raised both for incoming students and for existing teachers.
- Educational reform needs to begin in the universities with the preparation and professional development of teachers.
- The recruitment of new teachers needs serious consideration in order to place highly qualified teachers into each and every classroom in American schools.
- Rewards and incentive programs need to be established for teacher knowledge and skills.

Placing teacher candidates in schools in which they receive “hands-on” experience in the classroom has been a widely accepted component of teacher preparation. Sitter (1982), in particular, emphasized the importance of “the period of guided teaching when the student takes increasing responsibility for the work with a given group of learners over a period of consecutive weeks” (p. 2). In fact, several scholars have identified the school experience as an important element in the development of new teachers (Conant, 1963; Cornbleth, 1986; Harrington & Hathaway, 1995; McDermott, 1995). Conant (1963) indicated that student teaching is, “the one indisputable essential element in professional education” (p. 79). Indeed, Guyton and McIntyre (1990) postulated that teacher training in the public school classroom is one of the most profitable aspects of any teacher education program and claimed that their assertions were supported by teachers' consistently high ratings of student-teaching as the single most beneficial segment of their teacher education program” (p. 514).

In keeping with the belief in the importance of teacher training as well as the recent movements for reform, several universities have restructured their educational training

programs to incorporate a one year student-teaching internship as an additional fifth year of preparation. The assumption has been that an additional year, a full year in the schools as interns, would raise the quality of teaching by exposing preservice teachers more fully to the way schools work.

Without an internship year, student-teaching experiences range from six to twenty weeks (Fuller, 1969; Fuller & Brown, 1975; Innaconne, 1962; Pilard, 1992). However, when a full internship year is added to the programs, interns gain nine months of classroom experience. During this program, interns (i.e., student-teachers in an extended nine month program) are placed with experienced mentoring teachers and assume more teaching responsibility as the year unfolds, until eventually, they teach independently without the mentoring teacher present. For the intern, this period is viewed as one of intense growth. Glassberg and Sprinthall (1980) pointed out, "the responsibility is substantial, the role demands are real, and the experience is rigorous" (p. 32). Several others (Caruso, 1977; Fuller & Brown, 1975; Sitter, 1982) have indicated that the student-teacher period is a time of stress, pressure and great excitement. No matter how long the student-teaching practicum lasts, it is a time that few student-teachers ever forget.

Numerous researchers have studied student-teaching over the years (Bagley, 1927; Caruso, 1979; Fuller & Brown, 1975; Pilard & Anglin, 1993; Sitter, 1982). It is often assumed that the strongest impact on a student-teachers' ability to teach is the mentoring teacher (Guyton & McIntyre, 1990; Pilard, 1992). However, few studies have looked at the qualities (i.e., attitudes and perceptions) of the mentoring teachers and even fewer

have looked at the impact of the internship year on the student-teachers from their own perspectives. It is simply assumed that the more experience a student-teacher has observing and teaching in a classroom, the better a teacher they will become.

The literature on the experiences of student-teachers is rudimentary. As Pilard (1992) and Sitter (1982) stated in their respective dissertations, "little is known about the experiences from the perspective of the student-teacher" (Sitter, 1982, p. 2). Other researchers have recorded similar statements (Davies & Amersheck 1969; Fuller & Brown, 1975; Turner, 1975). For example, Davies and Amersheck (1969) stated:

A review of the research in this field leaves one with a great feeling of urgency to expedite the study of student-teaching, given its ascribed importance in Teacher Education, it is alarming to find so little systematic research related to it. Discussion and descriptive reports are plentiful, but comprehensive basic study of the processes involved is lacking. Studies of what really happens to the student-teacher are vital. (p. 12)

Changing demographics in the American classroom raise another difficulty for training student-teachers. Both Hynes (1991) and the National Commission (1996) have pointed out that by the year 2010 a third of all children in this country will be members of groups currently designated as "minorities" (National Commission, p. 13). Because these demographic changes have impact on the public schools, a new generation of teachers will be required to understand and deal with the diversity of multi-ethnic issues. Immigrations from Eastern Europe, Central America, Asia, and Africa, that rival in size those great immigrations of the 19th and 20th centuries, have had a profound affect in American classrooms. In contrast, candidates for school teachers are typically female, white, 22 and

with few experiences of people from different races, religions, or cultures other than their own (Baker, 1994).

Another problem faced by schools is the number of children who arrive hungry, unvaccinated, and frightened due to "the plagues of modern life -- crime and violence, drug and alcohol abuse, lack of adequate health care" (National Commission, 1996, p. 13). Inner-cities often consist of disadvantaged people in public housing, many of whom are under-educated minorities. Schools located within the inner city often face problems of overcrowding, inadequate facilities, limited funding, poor resources and the threat of violence (Kozol, 1992; Williams & Williamson, 1992). During every school day, according to Ludtke and Riley (1990), statistics revealed the problem faced in the inner-city:

- Every 8 seconds a child drops out.
- Every 26 seconds, a child runs away from home.
- Every 47 seconds, a child is abused or neglected.
- Every 67 seconds, a teenager has a baby.
- Every 7 minutes, a child is arrested for drug offense.
- Every 36 minutes, a child is killed or injured by a gun.
- Every day 135,000 children bring their guns to school (p. 42).

In his narrative, Savage Inequalities, Kozol (1991) described the crises and discrepancies in funding as well as the inadequacy of teaching in inner city schools. There have been many calls to better prepare student-teachers to deal with cultural problems. Weiner (1993) contended that student-teachers need to gain a wider understanding of the economic, social, and political factors influencing inner-city schools as well as of the cultural influences operating inside the school. She described many of the factors that

shape these schools, including the "community's political culture, a school's history, the racial and social composition of the school community, the student's and teacher's gender, race, class and personality" (Weiner, 1993, p. 80).

Much of the literature related to reform has focused on global issues relating to public education in general (Economy and Commission, 1997) or on how universities restructure and organize their programs (Holmes, 1995; Project 30, 1991). Relatively little research has examined the student-teaching experience and the need to develop the necessary skills to deal with the problems of inner-city schools. Nonetheless, a few researchers have focused on the teachers who teach in the inner-city schools (Kozol, 1991; Kretoivics & Nussel, 1994; Weiner, 1993).

Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1990) maintained that research on student-teaching has especially failed to describe the point of view of the student-teacher within inner-city schools, i.e., what it feels like to be a student-teacher there, and what experiences they have. These authors concluded that the "dominant paradigms in research on teaching over the past 20 years have excluded the teachers' voice, questions, and interpretive frames" (Cochran-Smith and Little, 1990, pg. 23). When Hynes and Socoski (1991) reviewed the research literature they concluded that they "did not uncover any sustained effort to assess preservice teacher's individual attitudes about teaching in urban schools" (p. 2). Indeed, they found that students entering a teacher preparation program had a negative attitude toward teaching in inner-city schools.

Statement of the Problem

Some movements for educational reform have recently placed emphasis on the need for higher quality teachers (Commission, 1996; Holmes, 1986). In response, some universities have increased the time that the student-teachers spend in the classrooms; in some programs, an intern may spend up to nine months in the classroom. The assumption is that classroom time, under a mentoring teacher, is an important ingredient in producing better teachers (Commission, 1996).

Despite the increased number of hours a student-teacher now spends in the classroom, there has been little research concerning the student-teacher's experiences. This is regrettable because the students' perspectives, ideas, and feedback may provide useful knowledge about how to improve the training of future student-teachers. Gaps in knowledge are even more serious for the experiences of student-teachers in inner-city schools. The voices of student-teachers have been silent. We need to understand more about what happens as student-teachers progress, develop, and mature through nine months of practice teaching.

Statement of Purpose

The following study explored the lived experiences and perceptions of five women student-teachers in two inner-city schools in a southeastern community. The study took place over a period of nine months and sought to discover and construct a narrative account of the student-teachers' experiences from their point of view.

Specific questions which were investigated included:

- What perceptions and experiences did the student-teachers have?
- What impact did interning in an inner-city school have on their teaching practice and personal lives?
- What did the student-teachers see as the issues, problems, and questions facing them in their interning situation?
- How did the student-teachers describe their interning experiences?
- What were the student-teacher's perceptions of the relationship between their university courses and what was expected of them in the classroom?

Terms and Definitions

Conflict -- This is the first stage of conflict resolution experienced by the student-teachers in this study as they went through their interning experience. The student-teachers experienced conflict when their own cultural expectations were disconfirmed by their experiences in the inner-city schools.

Disequilibrium -- This is the second phase of conflict resolution experienced by the interns. As their expectations continued to be disconfirmed the interns felt anxiety, confusion, and uncertainty about how to cope with the pupils and the new situations they found themselves in. They felt out of control and not possessing of a sufficient sense of authority and power in the classroom.

Maturity -- This is the fourth and final phase of conflict resolution for the interns. It is characterized by a greater sense of confidence that they are back in control of

themselves and their circumstances and an acceptance of the differences they have found in the inner-city culture.

Experience -- In this study, Flexner's definition for the term "experience" was used, i.e., "an instance or segment in one's life of personally encountering something and making this instance the object of one's consciousness; the totality of cognition, given by perceptions, that is, all that is perceived, understood, and remembered"

Growth -- This is the third phase of conflict resolution for the interns. As they become more familiar with their intern year and the behavior and values of their pupils, they begin to gain a greater sense of control and to learn how to achieve their teaching goals.

Inner-city schools -- In this study the phrase "Inner-city schools" refers to one of two schools located in a portion of the city that was characterized by financially disadvantaged families. The inner-city schools in this study were located in a southern central state. Both schools were located in the urban part of the city and contained a high percentage of African American (93%) and a greater concentration of fee waiver students (95%).

Intern -- For the purposes of this study the term "intern" will refer to the graduate student-teacher under study who was placed in an inner-city school for the duration of one academic year. They are fifth year graduate students working on a Master's degree in education and received 24 hours of graduate credit for their internship.

Liminality -- Anthropologist A. van Gennep (1960) defined liminality as specific times in an individual's life in which they are leaving one clearly identified social status and entering another. It is often characterized as a state of ambiguity, confusion and discomfort. For the purposes of this study, liminality will be defined as this state of transition in which the interns found themselves betwixt and between the various points in their lives.

Mentoring Teacher -- Experienced teachers selected by the local public school system who are willing to accept the responsibility of aiding the interns in gaining classroom experience. Mentoring teachers are not responsible for the evaluation of the interns' performance.

Narrative -- The lived experiences of interns' lives as expressed through either verbal or written stories. "A story describes a sequence of actions and experiences of a certain number of characters, whether real or imaginary" (Bruner, 1990).

Reflections -- Qualitative methods of gaining descriptive accounts of individual lived experiences. These experiences are captured either through interviews, group discussions, or written narratives.

Student-teaching -- Sitter (1982) describes student-teaching as "the period of guided teaching when the student takes increasing responsibility for the work with a given group of learners over a period of consecutive weeks" (p. 2). The participants of this study went beyond the typical "student teaching" period, as they spent a full year with a mentoring teacher and therefore will be referred to as interns.

Symbolic Interactionism -- A theoretical perspective that views human beings as making sense and meaning of their interactions with others on the "basis of how they believe other person behave toward them; and their self-perceptions and feelings tend to be mediated by how they think others see and feel about them" (Van Manen, 1990 p. 186).

Scope of the Study

Qualitative investigations often require the interpretation of perceived experiences which are gathered, often after the fact, in the form of written or oral reflections. Depending upon the study, the interpretation of events, feelings, perceptions and experiences can become focused and narrowed. It is important to view this study as only one in a series of links connecting a long chain of knowledge. This study attempted to add knowledge about teacher education by allowing the voices of interns to be heard. It is important to emphasize that the results may not be generalizable to other studies or even to other student-teachers; their experiences may be different. Nonetheless, it may be possible to develop a model from the experiences reported here regarding student-teaching in the inner-city that will be of service to future researchers.

This study, then, focused on the experiences of five women student-teachers who spent an intern year in inner-city schools. Their individual experiences were unique to themselves and to their setting. This study did not focus on male student-teachers, nor on interns teaching in a middle class or rural setting, nor did this study center on the effects of the mentoring teachers' attitudes toward the student-teachers. Thus, these are highly

specific to the particular participants. This is a study of a small group of individuals. The intent is to present as much rich description, insight, and detail about their subjective experiences as possible. I collected written reflections and oral group reflections each week for the first three months, as well as four taped interviews during the course of one academic year. My objective in undertaking this qualitative study was to add to the body of knowledge, and to allow readers to make their own applications. The importance of an interpretive study such as this is to provide the reader with the opportunity to reflect upon the unique experiences described by five different student-teachers as they encountered different circumstances and situations within the unique context of the inner-city.

Delimitations

Specific delimitations included the requirement that participants be interns involved in the Urban/Multicultural cohort and be completing their internship year in one of two inner-city schools. The university's Urban/Multicultural cohort was originally formulated to specifically train student-teachers with a critical-theorist perspective, i.e., to actively engage the student-teacher to view schooling at both the macro and micro levels in order to deal with and examine the issues of teaching in inner-city schools.

Limitations

A possible limitation of this study was the relationship that existed between student-teachers and myself, the principal researcher. I had already served in a supervisory capacity with the students during their first exposure to the schools in the year prior to the internship. They had observed a classroom once a week for three hours.

Following this, the interns wrote a short reflection regarding their experiences and I, in turn, wrote back indicating areas of concern, interests and observations. Additionally, during this same time, I also served as their instructor and facilitated the social-studies component of the methods course. This relationship existed with all of the interns and not just the five chosen for this study. During the following semester, as the interns began their student-teaching, I again served as instructor to them as they continued to reflect on their weekly observations.

My status as an instructor, supervisor, and researcher to the interns may possibly caused them to feel uncomfortable speaking to me freely in case I should devalue them and their work in some way. Understandably, these students may have wanted to make the best impression they could on those they feel may have some power over their future. The fact that I was a male and they were all females may also have lessened their trust, especially if they felt that I "just wouldn't understand." I have attempted to build trust and rapport as well as I could, but it is important to recognize that power and gender relations may have interfered with communication.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made in reference to this study.

- The perceived experiences of the interns were essential for understanding the internship year from their perspective.
- The interns were able to articulate their perceptions and experiences.
- The individual interviews, taped group discussions, and written reflections were valid methods of gaining information about subjective experiences.

- Participants told their stories and shared their thoughts, feelings, and perceptions concerning their experiences openly and honestly, in both the written reflections and orally in the interview and group discussions.

Significance of the Study

The results reported in this study provide an opportunity for readers to better understand the experiences of five women student-teachers resulting from a year interning in inner-city schools. Additionally, this dissertation provides an opportunity for the student-teachers to express their understandings, perceptions, and experiences of life in inner-city schools. The voices of student-teachers in inner-city schools have not been heard in the research literature. The present study provides further understanding of the process of student-teaching.

Much responsibility has been placed on student-teachers. At present, there is an inadequate understanding of what happens during the crucial placement year. The experiences gleaned from these stories may help future student-teachers understand the process they experience. This research may also help professional educators responsible for teacher-preparation programs to plan and organize their curricula for maximum benefit.

Finally, the process of taking part in this dissertation may have provided the student-teachers themselves with insights as they shared stories with each other and came to understand each other's experiences. Most generally, the experiences recounted in this study may provide insights into how teacher preparation programs can more effectively

assist during the critical intern year in which student-teachers grow from neophyte to professional.

The following dissertation is divided into 11 chapters. The previous chapter outlined the rationale and purpose of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the literature regarding adult development, teacher development and student-teaching. Chapter 3 outlines the purpose of the study, the participants involved, and the theoretical framework. Chapter 4 describes the data analysis, and a model is presented concerning how conflict resolution was experienced by the interns. Chapters 5 through 9 portray the experiences of the individual interns through vignettes. Chapter 10 summarizes the collective experience of the interns focusing on the process that these five interns went through as they modified their culturally based expectations after coming into contact with the culture of the inner-city schools. The model, introduced in chapter 4, is then described in more detail with additional evidence provided in support. Chapter 11 concludes with a series of recommendations for the university and teacher preparation programs, the local school board and the interns.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This qualitative study was conducted to explore the experiences and perceptions of a small group of student-teachers as they interned in inner-city schools. In order to do this a review of the literature encompassed a wide range of areas including teaching development, age and stage theorists, and student-teacher development. First, a brief history of teacher-education as it developed through Europe and the United States have been given. Second, the impact that practicing teaching has on the novice teacher was considered by reviewing studies, relating to such variables as self-concept, attitudinal change, stress and anxiety, and self-efficacy. Third, a survey of the literature on adult development, examining social, moral and cognitive growth in adults from the separate perspectives of "age-stage-theorists" was presented. Finally, both qualitative and quantitative research viewing teaching in terms of the developmental processes that both teachers and student-teachers go through was highlighted.

History

In the Middle Ages, the primary manner in which teachers trained was through an apprenticeship system. Apprentices received their preparation from a master who was supervised by a guild to assure standards of quality. As Fiske (1942) described:

The first attempt to give this practical (teacher) training in an organized and systematic manner on which we have authentic information was the outgrowth of the guild system which flourished in Europe during the latter centuries of the Middle Ages. At the time when merchants and artists and workmen were all organized and setting up definite limitations and

prerequisites to membership in their unions, it was only natural that teachers should form similar organizations. In order to become a master, the beginner was required to serve a rather long period of apprenticeship. During this time he received little or no compensation and served as an assistant and substitute and, finally, taught a class of his own under the supervision of the master to whom he had been assigned. (p. 219)

More formal teacher education began in 1685 when Jean Baptiste de la Salle, who was credited with being the "founder of student-teaching," designed the first normal school in Rheims, France (Johnson, 1968a). Twelve years later, August Herman Franke created the first professional teacher training institute in Germany (called the Seminarium Praeceptorium). Pilard (1993) noted that young theological students were trained as teachers for the elementary schools under the supervision of government inspectors.

Throughout the 1700's, several European countries established formalized institutions for the preparation of teachers. For instance, in 1735, the Prussian government committed themselves to the regular training of teachers by establishing a seminary for the purpose in Pomerania (Pilard, 1993). In 1765, Frederick the Great decreed the regulation of Catholic schools of education for teachers. By 1845 over 34,000 primary teachers were trained and employed in Prussia (Cubberly, 1948). Germany was the first European country to establish a state-supported teacher training program.

In England a shortage of elementary school teachers led Andrew Bell, in 1797, and Joseph Lancaster, in 1798, to invent systems of guided or monitored training. Typically these provided economical teacher training to those students deemed capable of

benefiting. Cubberly (1948) described how the monitorial system spread throughout England, Germany, Denmark, Holland and the United States.

In the United States, student-teaching progressed slowly from an apprenticeship system to the normal schools that emerged for training teachers during the mid-1800's (Johnson, 1968a). At this time there was little theoretical basis for fieldwork. McIntyre (1990) suggested, hopefully with at least some degree of exaggeration, that the apprenticeship programs, with little in the way of examination of their purposes, nature, or time in the classroom, has in effect continued into the late twentieth century!

The history of student-teaching had thus evolved from the medieval apprenticeship model to the more structured set of experiences that integrates modern technology and related fields of study. Unfortunately, only a handful of studies have attempted qualitatively to qualitatively understand the processes, experiences, and perceptions of student-teachers as they participate in their training. Hence, a need for the present study.

Impact of Student-Teaching on Student-Teachers

Studies concerned with the impact of training on teachers have primarily investigated such variables as: (a) self-concept and personality characteristics (Dumas, 1969; Lantz, 1964; Dumas, 1969; Walberg, 1968), (b) anxiety and stress (Thompson, 1963; Sorenson & Halpert, 1974; Coates & Thorensen, 1796), (c) attitudinal change (Shapiro and Shiflet 1974; Walberg et al, 1968; Johnson, 1968; and Horowitz 1968), and (d) issues of authority (Jacobs, 1968; Johnson, 1968). Sitter (1983) reviewed 35 years of this literature and reached several conclusions. First, a large portion of the research is

"dominated by articles and reports describing current practices, expressing opinions or theoretical ideas and advocat[ing] points of view" (Sitter, 1983, pg. 23). Second, the majority of it is quantitative in nature. Third, alarmingly, much teacher-training is found to be ineffective. In this last conclusion, Sitter built on the work of Glassberg and Sprinthall (1980), who wrote: "Results indicate a multiplicity of concrete and clearly negative findings -- student-teachers become more authoritarian, rigid, impersonal, restrictive, arbitrary, bureaucratic and custodial by the end of their student-teaching experiences" (p. 14).

Self-concept, Anxiety, and Attitudinal Change

Donald Lantz (1964) conducted an early study concerning the self concept of student-teachers. He administered an Interpersonal Check List to 36 women student-teachers before and after training and found that as a result of training they perceived themselves as "being more trustful and accepting of their interpersonal behavior and they seemed to have gained insights into and an appreciation of themselves" (Lantz, 1964, p.16). Moreover, Lantz found that student-teachers also viewed other teachers as being more trustful. Based on his findings, Lantz emphasized the importance of placing student-teachers in non-threatening classroom environments where their self-concepts and the concepts of others may change for the better.

In direct opposition to Lantz's findings were those of Walberg (1968) who found the self image of 77 women "significantly declined" during their internship. Walberg (1968) administered a questionnaire to student-teachers in a Chicago public school using a

one-group, pretest-post-test design. He found that student-teachers were in conflict between their attempts to create a friendly rapport with the pupils in their classroom and their need to maintain authority and discipline as professionals. This conflict, he hypothesized, brought about "feelings of abnegation and depreciation of self during the practice teaching" (Walberg, 1968, p.17).

Dumas (1969) analyzed the self-concept of 94 high-school student-teachers, also using a pre-post-test, (the Fielder Interpersonal Perception scale). Dumas stated:

- Conclusion one is largely dependent upon the tendency of student-teachers in English to improve self-perceptions substantially. Student-teachers in no other subject discipline showed a significant improvement of self-perception during student-teaching.
- Student-teaching under the conditions described herein tends to be associated with a more negative view of self by student-teachers in physical education.
- Student-teaching which involves responsibility for one or more sections of "slow learners," grouped by ability, tends to be associated with self-concept change in a positive direction.
- Presence of cooperating teachers a majority of the time during student-teaching tends to be associated with an improving self-concept by student-teachers; as conversely, the absence of cooperating teachers a majority of the time tends to be associated with negligible or negative changes in self-perceptions.

The above three illustrative studies produced a variety of outcomes. By themselves, they make definite conclusions impossible. Sitter's (1983) review of the literature concluded that the studies of self-concept in student-teachers were inconsistent and therefore that it was difficult to draw precise conclusions. These inconsistencies may

be related to the difficulty of defining the term "self concept" as well as to the differences in the procedures used to assess it.

Stress and Anxiety.

Most mid-century reviewers concluded that there is a considerable amount of anxiety associated with the student-teaching experience (Thompson 1963; Sorenson & Halpert 1974; Coates & Thorenson, 1976). Michael Thompson (1964) was one of the first to look at how anxiety impacts student-teachers. Thompson surveyed 124 student-teachers near the end of their teaching experiences in hopes of: (a) better understanding what specific kinds of anxiety were experienced; (b) determining if these anxieties represent a normally distributed pattern; (c) assessing whether elementary school internees are beset with more or fewer anxieties than secondary school internees; (d) assessing whether males experience more or less anxieties than female student-teachers, and (e) understanding the sources of the anxieties experienced.

Thompson (1964) administered a 35 item checklist to explore his questions and concluded that the anxieties experienced by student-teachers did not follow a normal bell curve distribution. For example, women were more likely to experience anxiety during their student-teaching than were men. Thompson also found that anxiety occurred more often from imagined sources prior to student-teaching than to realistic events taking place during the actual training.

A larger study carried out by Sorensen and Halpert (1974) attributed the source of anxiety of student-teachers to the conflict of beliefs about the "teacher role" existing

between the student-teacher and the cooperating teacher. These investigators explored the proposition that more anxiety was felt by those student-teachers whose teaching and educational philosophies differed from their mentors. They asked 104 elementary and 143 secondary student-teachers (75% were women) to complete a 125 item questionnaire. Seventy percent of the participants reported "considerable psychological discomfort" at the beginning of their student-teaching practicum. A further 20 percent reported experiencing "a good deal of discomfort" at the end of their teaching practicum.

Sorenson and Halpert (1975) concluded from their study:

For some prospective teachers, practice teaching is an exhilarating and joyful, if challenging experience which results in feelings of great achievement, personal growth, and satisfaction. For others it is a frightening, frustrating, and depressing time, resulting in feelings either of failure and personal inadequacy or of great anger, or both. Whether practice teaching turns out to be a satisfying or disappointing experience depends, it appears, on neither the particular student traits nor the particular kind of setting but rather on the interaction between a student-teacher and the personnel in the school where he does his student-teaching (p.32)

In reviewing the literature on anxiety in student teachers, Coates and Thorensen (1976) found that student-teachers reported that the major source of tension had been their relationship with both their university supervisor and mentoring teacher. Coates and Thorensen (1976) also found that student-teachers felt anxiety about their ability to: (a) manage the classroom; (b) know their subject matter; (c) be popular with the pupils; (d) handle mistakes and classroom materials; (e) maintain good relations with other staff and with the community. However, Coates and Thorensen suggested that problems were more anticipatory than real.

The findings to this point suggest that the concept of anxiety seem to be pervasive during student-teaching. Perhaps this is not surprising given that anxiety is central to many career transitions. Sitter (1983) summarized two often stated conclusions from this literature. First, that the psychological discomfort of student-teaching is more related to the anticipation of experiences rather than to actual experiences. Second, the anxiety is related to the interaction of the student-teacher and the organizational climate of the school (Sitter, 1983).

Attitudes.

Shapiro and Shiflet (1974) indicate that during the intern period, the student-teacher often experiences feelings of being "disconnected" from others. In their study, 70 elementary student-teachers were randomly assigned to one of three different groups: (a) a pre- and post-test experimental group which received thirty 3-hour and two weekend Gestalt awareness sessions as part of their training, (b) a pre- and post-test control group not receiving the training, and (c) a control group only given the post-test. In a clinical interview follow-up with ten of the former students, Shapiro and Shiflet (1974) found the main causes of feeling disconnected were being "overworked, experiencing a shattering of illusions towards teaching, irrelevant academic work, competition, and vulnerability to the cooperating teachers" (p. 48). The authors recommended that teacher preparation programs assess the attitudes of the student-teachers prior to, during, and after the student-teaching experience, even several years after beginning teaching. They stated:

[I]f the loss in connectedness turns out to be merely a stage in the development of a teacher, then no significant changes in teacher training would be indicated. If, on the other hand, loss of trust appears as a

dysfunctional concomitant to teacher preparation as now commonly constituted, then the training experiences should be restructured to eliminate aspects which unnecessarily diminish the capacity of the beginning teacher to engage with others in realistic and appropriate levels of trust (p. 148)

Other studies investigated the attitudes of interns toward pupils. Walberg (1968) found that student-teachers became more controlling and less pupil-centered by the end of their training. Similarly, Jacobs (1968) reported that student-teachers shifted towards a rigid, more formalized program although they had earlier displayed more liberal and democratic teaching styles. Johnson (1969) reported increased scores of dogmatism in student-teachers as a result of training. Horowitz (1968) discovered that student-teachers became more concerned with the expectations of others.

To conclude this section, several studies indicated that teacher-training caused a shift of attitude in student-teachers. Unfortunately, the review of this literature concluded that the attitude changes were often not in a positive direction (Sitter, 1983; Pilard, 1992). Overall, it would appear that student-teaching has not always had uniformly positive effects on attitudes and personalities.

Adult Development

It may be worthwhile to digress at this point to consider stages of development in adults more generally before examining the literature on career development and stages that student-teachers experience in particular. Adult development deals with change in cognitive, moral, and social domains. Burden (1990) suggested that changes in an adult's life occur slowly and from "relatively simple to complex forms, it often proceeds through stages, and transitions between stages are frequently viewed as relatively irreversible" (p. 311).

According to Barker (1992), the majority of student-teachers today are 97% white, middle class women ranging in age from 22-24. However, it is becoming more common to find student-teachers in their late 20's, 30's, or 40's (National Commission, 1995). Many individuals have transferred prior job skills into teaching and/or have pursued a teaching career in later life. The teaching profession has covered a spectrum of ages, maturity levels and abilities, as well as many unique work settings. The question has been raised as to whether, regardless of age, developmental stages exist in the careers of teachers, as they progress from novice first year teachers to veteran teachers.

Adult development has been approached from two similar but different perspectives. The first focused on chronological age across various age spans; the second examined hypothetical stages and related psychological processes people go through as they age.

Age Theorists

Age theorists attempt to understand whether there are events common to most adults at similar times in their lives. From the work of Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson and McKee (1978) the following broad generalizations were inferred. During the late-teens to early twenties, people typically shift from adolescence to adulthood. The mid-twenties is a period of early adulthood typically involving a commitment to marriage, work, family and other adult responsibilities. These initial commitments were often reexamined during "transitional periods," during the later twenties and early thirties. At these points, long range implications of continuing with current work, spouse, community, and life-style are apparent. People either reaffirmed or changed their commitments. The mid thirties was more a time of settling down, a period of achievement and reaffirmation of the sense of self. Mid-life transitions occurred during the forties when people became aware that time is finite and success is limited. Chickering (1976) summarized:

Most theorists take age sixteen or eighteen as the beginning of adulthood... In terms of developmental ages, Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1974), and Gould (1972), and Sheehy (1974) describe a general pattern of adult development that begins with the transition from adolescence to adulthood during the late teens and early twenties...then another period occurs during late twenties and thirties where [first commitments] are reexamined and their meaning questioned. (p. 64)

Building upon Levinson's research, Krupp (cited in Burden, 1982) described adult development as a sequence of overlapping phases which are either stable or transitional.

During the stable portions, adults affirmed previously made key decisions whereas during transitional periods they questioned, reappraised, and moved toward new commitments.

Stage theorist

Rather than examine the strict chronology of age, stage theorists examined qualitative differences in modes of experience at various stages of life. Different modes or structures of thinking were said to form "an invariant sequence or progression in individual development" (Burden, p. 312). Bents and Howey (1981) observed that these structural changes provided insight into what information individuals used, how they used that information, and the types of interactions they might have with the environment. Premised upon the works of Piaget, developmental stage theorists such as Kohlberg (1973), Gilligan (1982), Loveninger (1986), and Hunt and Perry (1971) viewed adult development as a "definite progression[s] from concrete, undifferentiating, simple, unstructured patterns of thoughts to more abstract, differentiating, and complex patterns of thoughts" (Burden, pg. 312).

Kohlberg (1973) postulated that stages had several characteristics. First, different stages involved different cognitive structures that performed the same function (i.e. information processing) at various points in development. Second, during development, structures formed an invariant sequence. Although factors might have accelerated, slowed, or stopped development, the sequence did not change. Third, the structural whole was formed by each of the different and sequential thought modes. Fourth, hierarchical integration occurred at each stage of development. Burden (1990) suggested

that Kohlberg's notion of stage development "involves changes in quality, competence, and form as one moves from one stage to another, rather than changes in quantity, performance, and content" (p. 312).

Different theorists postulated alternative frameworks to try to better predict development. Early on, Piaget (1963) sought to describe cognitive growth and how people understand the physical world of time, space and causality. Subsequently, Kohlberg (1969) and Gilligan (1982) examined the moral development in men and women especially in their orientation towards authority, others and self. For instance, Gilligan (1982) developed a three stage model of women's moral growth. Initially, moral judgment was suggested to originate from a concern for survival; subsequently their focus on personal morality developed to please significant others and society in general; and finally, morality was based on a resolution of conflict between self-sacrifice and responsibility to self.

Gilligan's work developed in part from Kohlberg's six stages of moral development in which he analyzed reasoning in men and women. The significant difference between Gilligan's and Kohlberg's was that Gilligan emphasized that a woman's sense of morality was based more on the ideal of connectedness to others, whereas men were more concerned with abstract thinking.

Women's construction of the moral problem as a problem of care and responsibility of relationships, rather than, as one of rights and rules, tied the development of their moral thinking to changes in their understanding of responsibility and relationships... Thus, the logic underlying an ethic of care is a psychological logic of relationships.... (Gilligan, 1982, p.73)

A question arose as to whether or not student-teachers who spent up to nine months in an internship developed through either fixed stages of development or progressed differently.

Teacher development

One widely known theorist regarding teacher development was Francis Fuller, who along with her associates at the University of Texas at Austin, examined, refined and modified a developmental conceptualization of the nature of teacher development (Fuller, 1967, 1969; Fuller & Brown 1975). Fuller's (1967) initial study, spurred by the discrepancy between what preservice teachers apparently learned in their university courses and what they said they felt they required, investigated "what [student] teachers are concerned about and whether their concerns can be conceptualized in some useful way" (p. 208). Fuller proposed that with time student-teachers became less concerned about themselves and more concerned about their pupil. Fuller concluded that student-teachers progressed through six stages of development.

Fuller and Brown (1975) cautioned researchers to view stages as "fuzzy sets" with unclear boundaries. It is not critical to determine, they suggested, "[w]hether these are really stages or only clusters, whether they are distinct or overlapping, and whether teachers teach differently or are differentially effective in different stages" (p.37). These "stages" were articulated by teachers in terms of what they were concerned about, rather than what they were actually accomplishing.

Ten years later, Fuller and Brown (1975) refined Fuller's (1967) initial six-stage process of development and articulated a four-stage developmental model of teacher concerns as they progressed to become mature teachers. The first set of concerns began with pre-service teachers and followed into their first year of teaching. It was a time when pre-service teachers "identify realistically with the pupil, [and] with the teacher only as fantasy" (Fuller & Brown, 1975, p.38). In this stage student-teachers tended to focus so much on themselves and to be so concerned about their own needs, how they looked, what they said, and what their supervisors thought about them, that the reality of teaching played a distant second and their mentors were seen almost as the enemy. Once student-teachers became qualified, they continued to be concerned about their adequacy and survival.

Gradually, teachers became more concerned about classroom control and their relationships with pupils, supervisors, administrators and evaluators. Burden (1979, 1980a, 1980b), reflecting on Fuller and Brown's (1975) work, suggested that at this stage, student-teachers remained self-centered and had few professional insights. He stated "they lacked confidence and were unwilling to try new methods" (1980b, p. 12). Fuller and Brown (1975) concluded that first year teachers were best characterized as young and inexperienced.

Fuller's second stage of teacher development began with their actual teaching in a solo situation. At this point, their priorities were still concerned with daily survival. Notions of idealism toward pupils were replaced with notions about the ability to teach

and maintain classroom control. Katz (1972) pointed out that during this stage, student-teachers discovered the limitations of success because of the realities operating in the classroom. Fuller (1969) describes a typical teacher in this second stage:

She wonders about her own teaching performance; how she looks and sounds, about her command of subject matter, about what to do if she doesn't know the answer to a child's question and to avoid the embarrassment of appearing to be inadequate (p. 113).

In Fuller's third stage, teachers had greater concerns about what pupils learn, as well as continuing to worry about their teaching performance and the demands being made on them. Only in the fourth and final stage did teachers begin to fully express concern for the emotional needs of pupils and about their own ability to relate to pupils as individuals. Stage four concerns, Fuller (1969) argued, were rare even for experienced teachers. She stated:

When teachers do become concerned about pupil gain and about their influence on this gain they ask themselves, "is the class really learning what I'm trying to teach them?" What is he concerned about? How do things look to Jimmy? What was the effects on him or what happened yesterday? Do I need to change what I do? Do they need me to change what I am?" (p. 114)

Fuller's (1967) work spurred other researchers (Gregorc, 1973; Katz, 1972; Yarger and Mertens, 1980) to examine stages in the development of teachers. Some of these articulated three phases or levels of development, while others suggested as many as six. There were also different views on how long student-teachers remained at any one level, and what specific events moved them to the next stage. At the University of Illinois in Urbana, Lillian Katz (1972) looked at development among preschool teachers. She

hypothesized that four developmental stages existed and that movement among these stages varied greatly in time. Her study centered on the types of questions that teachers asked themselves as they progressed.

For instance, Katz observed that Stage 1, which she termed "Survival," may have lasted throughout the first year of teaching and was marked by such questions as: "Can I get through the day in one piece? Without losing a child? Can I make it until the end of the week? Until the next vacation?" (Katz, 1972, p. 51). Her research indicated that teaching three and four year olds elicited within teachers, "discrepancies between anticipated successes and classroom realities [which] intensifies feelings of inadequacy and unpreparedness" (Katz, 1972, p. 51). During this stage, Katz claimed, on-site support in the form of encouragement, understanding, reassurance, guidance, and technical assistance may be useful.

Katz's second stage was a "consolidation period." Occurring by the end of the first year and often lasting 2-3 years, teachers began to focus more on individual pupils, particularly those who present challenging dispositions. Questions would begin to arise such as "How can I help a shy child? How can I help a child who does not seem to be learning?" These questions helped the teacher to begin to identify with individual children behaviors.

Katz's third stage was termed "renewal". During the fourth and fifth year of teaching, teachers might tire of teaching, finding it repetitive, and so look for new, innovative ways of presenting material. They might begin to attend conferences, read

journals, and observe other classrooms and films. The renewal stage was characterized by questions such as "Who is doing what? Where? What are some of the new materials, techniques, approaches, and ideas?"

Katz's fourth and final stage of teacher development was "Maturity." Some teachers might not have achieved this within 3 years, while others may take 5 and still others may never achieve it at all. In this stage, teachers accept themselves and begin to ask deeper, more abstract questions, such as: "What are my historical and philosophical roots? What is the nature of growth and learning? How are educational decisions made?" (Katz 1972, p. 53). Katz (1972) suggested that teachers at this level might be given more opportunity to participate in conferences and seminars, and perhaps further their education via Masters or Ph.D. degrees.

Katz (1972) concluded that overall it is "useful to think of the growth of preschool teachers (and perhaps other teachers, also) as occurring in stages, linked generally to experience gained over time" (p. 53). By doing so, inservice support might be more usefully targeted to the teacher's levels of development. For instance, teachers in the survival stage may not benefit from inservices relating to examining complex issue such as 'Site Based Management' or a "culturally rich and diverse curriculum," whereas these might benefit more seasoned teachers.

Anthony Gregorc (1973), the principal of University High School, outlined a Professional Developmental Profile to describe four stages through which he and his staff observed teachers developing. Gregorc (1973) attempted to "develop an effective

continuing education program for the school" (p. 1) by analyzing the overt behavior of the staff, counselors, and administration. Gregorc asked; "What meanings, understandings, and attitudes lay beneath the behavior observed?" His investigation led him to conclude that there "seemed to be a sequence of behavior in professional development (Gregorc, 1973, p. 2). He identified several stages through which most teachers passed despite also noting that individual personality characteristics aided some teachers to move more effectively through the stages:

Elements which appeared to have powerful influences on development were self-acceptance and a strong knowledge of subject matter. Openness and a willingness to share ideas and materials were found to be characteristic of people who progressed rapidly. Interestingly, age did not appear to be directly related to the stages (p. 2)

Gregorc's (1973) four stages were becoming, growing, maturing and fully functioning. Teachers in the becoming stage were characterized as ambivalent in their commitment to teaching although they do have many positive attitudes about the value of education and the role of schools as social organizations. At this initial stage, teachers might feel their job is only to share knowledge with children who may be seen, naively, as only too eager to learn. At worst, teachers simply want to get through the text and to do what their principals tell them to do. Teachers in stage 2 were not fully committed them to teaching and were still considering "going into business or to graduate school . . . a married woman may consider starting a family" (Gregorc 1973, p.3).

The "growing" stage in Gregorc's scheme was characterized by increased knowledge and by the teachers' feelings of expertise in handling community, parents,

pupils, and fellow educators. These teachers had a greater level of commitment towards education, although there was still a rudimentariness to their prowess. Gregorc noted that at this stage teachers can become fixated or static, and so failed to grow further. The teacher might "reject new experiences which do not fit his view of reality" (Gregorc 1973, p.4). This stage was viewed as crucial. Teachers could remain open to criticism, self analysis, and further development or they could stop growing and resist further change.

Maturing, stage three, teachers were those who had made a definite commitment to education and so are able to pursue teaching well beyond minimal expectations. In this stage, teachers were open to new discoveries and seek to improve their effectiveness. This phase was associated with two different feelings, stress and exhilaration. On the one hand stress was felt as teachers faced the problems of teaching, while exhilaration was felt as new insights were gained. Teachers who progressed to this stage realized that lecturing was not the sole form of teaching and that learning went beyond simply repeating back facts. Teachers at this level realized that pupils learn from a variety of sources and are unique in their learning styles. Effective teachers adjusted to the needs of their pupils by changing their techniques, materials, and attitudes to the needs at hand.

Fully functioning, stage four teachers were those who had made a full commitment to their professions. They valued the learning that takes place outside of the classroom, on field trips, in student council meetings, at dances, and so on. These teachers were immersed in the process of education and are continually striving for excellence. Their

teaching methods demonstrated great knowledge of their discipline and deploy as necessary a range of teaching techniques, styles and methods as are necessary. Fully functioning teachers were often viewed by younger teachers as those in whom they could confide and from whom they could seek guidance.

Gregorc (1973) argued that his Professional Development Profile constituted a powerful vehicle for understanding and developing plans for professional growth. He maintained that understanding the four developmental stages outlined could lead to more effective in-service training of teachers.

Yarger and Mertens (1980) also provided a comprehensive, descriptive view of the stages through which in-service teachers progressed. Unlike the researchers cited so far, Yarger and Mertens favored the stage theorist position of development described earlier. According to Yarger and Mertens (1980), teachers pass through six stages of teacher development, regardless of whether they are also developing professionally. The six stages suggested possible means for intervention in teacher education.

In stage 1, pre-education students were considering careers as teachers but were not yet committed to them. Typically they were undergraduate students who had not yet decided whether education was their vocation. Yarger and Mertens (1980) suggested that students be given ample opportunities to seek information and test preconceptions before deciding. In stage 2, education students were defined by their conscious commitment to education, usually made in their second or third undergraduate years. At this stage

students need to develop basic teaching skills through rigorous professional training programs.

By stage 3, initial teachers had made the transfer from the security of a training program to the demands of the teaching profession. Hence they now may be feeling especially insecure. Thus, teacher training programs might take anxiety into account and aid teachers through their problems and difficulties. In stage 4, developing teachers, were considered novice professionals. Although the initial concerns were still present, new concerns also emerged related to content and gaps in previous training. A realization that the teaching environment was continuously changing required teachers to adapt. By stage 5, after 3 to 8 years of experience, practicing teachers had become more confident and had stable perceptions. These teachers expressed interest in content specialties, higher degrees, tenure, and even began to prepare for new professional roles as department heads and curriculum specialists. Stage 6, the final stage, is characteristic of experienced teachers who generally have eight to ten years of teaching and know their areas of strength and expertise. They had unique needs for professional activities

After reviewing the literature on teacher development, Watts (1980) also reported a study of teacher development involving three developmental stages. Stage 1 survival, parallels those of Katz (1972) and Fuller (1967). Katz pointed out that despite individual differences, the majority of teachers experience some anxiety, insecurity and intimidation by their pupils. Beginning teachers survive the classroom responsibilities and relationships on a day-to-day basis. In support of this, Watts' quoted a first year teacher:

I didn't think I was doing the job. I was worried about the kids learning anything and I wondered what the other teachers were thinking. One minute I was up, thinking I was dynamite, and the next I thought, "I'm not reaching these kids at all."

Watts's stage 2, middle stage, depicted teachers beginning to be less concerned about themselves and more concerned about the needs of their pupils. These teachers often shift toward child-centered activities. Watts (1980) stated that with less time focusing on self, more time was spent viewing the pupil "as an individual, with individual needs, rather than a mass threat" (p. 4). She also claimed that teachers began to develop attitudes of appreciation for pupils, were competent with management and curriculum, but were not particularly creative. One of her former teacher-participants stated:

When I'd taught the whole lesson and there was still half the period to go, I had to let some of 'me' creep in. When I discovered that I could be more myself, and that the kids like that, I began to feel better." Another teacher said, "I began to feel some strengths. I liked the kids, even though I had some of the things they did. I liked them, and they knew it. (Watts, 1980 p. 5)

In Watts's (1980) stage 3, mastery, teaching was viewed "from a distance, satisfying school goals but not going beyond them" (p. 5). "Master" teachers often became dissatisfied with simply satisfying school goals. They have a healthy sense of confidence and exude "an air of quiet competence; there seem[ed] to an outsider to be nothing she [couldn't] handle" (Watt, 1980, p.5). Master teachers were concerned with the level of critical thinking in their pupils and often asked them "why" questions. Teachers at this level had a sense of the relationships between classrooms, schools, and the wider community.

Another three-stage theory of teacher development was proposed by Burden (1979/1980). He sought to "determine selected teachers' perceptions of their personal and professional development since they started teaching" (Burden, 1980, p.1). After interviewing fifteen suburban elementary school teachers he identified three stages and wrote: "The changes seemed to occur in an ordered, hierarchical sequence with each year characterized by different types of change. The changes occurred gradually and were cumulative" (Burden, 1980, p. 14).

Like Fuller (1969), Katz (1972) and Watts (1980) before him, Burden titles his first stage "survival". Teachers experienced their first years as unique. While feeling confused and uncertain, they emotionally survive a maze of difficulties. New teachers rigidly adhered to tradition, maintaining a subject-centered approach to education rather than a student-centered one. Teachers were primarily concerned about their adequacy in: (a) maintaining classroom control, (b) teaching the subject, and (c) improving their teaching skills, i.e., lesson planning, organizing units and materials, grading, and knowing the curriculum and what to teach (Burden, p. 16). Burden claimed his findings were corroborated by other researchers in the field. For instance, he wrote:

Unruh and Turner (1970) suggested that the problem of the novice include discipline, routine and organization, scoring and marking papers, and curriculum development. Fuller (1969) suggested that early concerns about the self and personal survival focused on content adequacy, capacity to control the class, and the ability to survive as a teacher in the new school situation. Applegate and associates (1977) reported first year concerns for the self when managing a classroom, confronting discipline problems, evaluating student progress, and worrying about his/her own competence in teaching a particular subject . . . (p. 17)

Burden's stage 2 was labeled the adjustment stage covering the second through fourth years of teaching. During these years, teachers refined their knowledge in planning, organizing, and working with children. Burden declared that as teachers became aware of their strengths and became more knowledgeable about the curriculum and pupils, they become more relaxed and confident. Teachers at this stage were able to view children as individuals surrounded by complex influences. New teaching techniques were sought to meet the children's needs.

Stage 3, the mature stage, was most often achieved by teachers after 5 or more years of teaching experience. Mature teachers experienced a sense of control and confidence about classroom management and the influence of the classroom environment on learning. Instead of being subject-focused, as is typical of stage 1 teachers, stage 3 teachers were child-centered and willing to try new things. One other distinction that Burden (1980) made was between stage 3 teachers and the two other stages, was their ability to more effectively "release the tension they had experienced in teaching." (p. 24).

Summary

The question of whether developmental stages in teaching exist has been viewed and investigated by a number of researchers in the field. The connection between adult development and teacher development has raised important questions for teacher preparation programs, administrators and classroom teachers alike, i.e., can we prepare better teachers better using the existing research on adult development; can research on teacher development aid school boards to better plan their in-service programs and

recognize those teacher who are willing to move forward versus those who have resigned themselves to just “getting through the day;” or is it possible to prepare pre-service teachers better by understanding the process that they will experience as they make the transition from being a student to that of a teacher?

Some common themes emerged from the research reviewed above. For instance, the beginning stage of teaching is typically characterized as a time of stress and anxiety. New teachers indicated a need to survive the daily routines. Inexperienced teachers appeared to focus more on their own needs and base their teaching philosophies accordingly. They tended to be more concerned about how they appear to the outside world and did not appear to be overly concerned with the development of their pupils. With increasing confidence, however, the teachers passed beyond their initial anxiousness and on through the stages of development.

Student-teaching

Student-teaching is the capstone and final phase of most teacher preparation programs. It is a critical stage in the transition from the status of being a university student to that of becoming a classroom teacher (Hoy & Woolfolk, 1990). It is during this period that student-teachers face many unique challenges as they attempt to translate into practice the theoretical knowledge they acquired at university. Although this may be a time of high anxiety, it is often also one of the most exciting and important periods. In fact, teachers consistently have rated “student-teaching as the single most beneficial segment of their teacher education program” (Guyton & McIntyre, 1990, p. 514).

A growing number of publications on educational reform (Holmes, 1986, 1990; Carneige, 1986) have called for increased numbers of training experiences required for graduation. As a result, several universities have restructured their teacher training-programs to include a fifth year of internship. During this year of practice teaching, interns were placed in the public schools for an entire academic year under the scrutiny of a mentoring teacher, without pay and with little authority. They were expected to learn the skills of teaching. The following discussion reviewed the literature relating to developmental stages that student-teachers experience in order to determine: (a) whether or not they develop through particular stages of growth at certain times, (b) the nature of these stages of development, and how they might apply to interns who spend considerable more time in the classroom.

In 1922 William Bagley published his article, "Preparing teachers for the urban service," in which he advocated a seven stage program of training. Although his article did not address developmental stages it does highlight some of the early research regarding student-teaching. Bagley described seven stages referring to them as "task accomplishments" carried out in classrooms by pre-service teachers. Stage 1 consisted of student-teachers becoming responsible for the general maintenance of the physical classroom, making use of classroom observations and tutoring individual pupils. Stage 2 required student-teachers to formulate lesson plans to begin small group teaching. Bagley (1927) stated that student-teachers should "emphasize writing lesson plans without responsibility for the illustrative materials and devices" (p. 17). Stage three required

student-teachers to plan full-class lessons, to write exercises on blackboards, and to generally organize material. Stage 4 required student-teachers to take control of classroom management. Stage 5 expanded responsibilities in terms of study and recreation time. Stage 6 required the preparation of daily plans of study based on the pupils' needs. Stage 7, the final stage, required student-teachers to take complete responsibility for both classroom management, lesson planning, and lesson delivery.

Bagley's (1927) paper depicted many of the task-oriented skills still required of pre-service students. For instance, beginning student-teachers were typically initiated into the field of education via the instruction of individual pupils. As student-teachers' confidence grew, they were "rewarded" with small reading groups. These in turn led to planning for whole classes and then teaching them. Bagley's stages clearly reflected the technical side of teaching. They were silent, however, about the experiences and perceptions of student-teachers as they undertake their training.

Forty-one years later, Iannaccone's (1963) descriptive study of student-teachers determined that the students viewed their training as a critical time in their lives. Iannaccone (1963) found that "student-teaching is seen as a transitional period during which the student's perspectives undergo a radical change" (p. 73). Iannaccone observed, interviewed, and analyzed the daily diary entries of 25 elementary student-teachers. He focused on the transitional period between being a college student and becoming a teacher. Iannaccone (1963) set out to understand how student-teachers modified their

behavior from what they were "taught in college to what seems to be required on the job" (p. 74).

Iannaccone (1963) observed three transitional stages during student-teaching. At the point of transition from being students at the university to becoming aware of future roles as classroom teachers, various events (such as filling out applications, attending orientation meetings) provided cues of impending change. According to Iannaccone (1963) student-teachers begin to break away from their status of being just students as soon as they begin to understand the requirements of student-teaching. For instance, students alter their use of language as they move from student roles at university to teacher roles at public schools. As Iannaccone (1963) puts it:

Thus, in the language of education students, you "take" courses, classes "come" on Mondays and Fridays, but you "go" into student-teaching. The pronouns they use are "we" for university personnel and "they" for public-school personnel, especially the co-operating teachers (p.74).

The second transitional period was marked by high levels of anxiety as student-teachers realized that they had left the "safety" of the university but were not yet confident in their ability to succeed in the direction in which they are moving. As teachers gain confidence in their abilities, they entered the third and final stage of teaching more fully. The social distance between the cooperating teacher and the student-teacher decreased and their relationship shifted as they spent more time together and as student-teachers made the transition to becoming teachers.

These stages mark succinct periods in the student-teachers' experiences as they became familiar with their role and status within the classroom context. The use of daily

log entries provided knowledge of what the interns were experiencing first hand.

Iannaccone provided many salient examples of the socialization process that interns experienced suggesting even further stages of development yet to be defined. For example, one of the student-teachers discussed the conflict between what she had been taught were good teaching practices at the university and what she found practiced in the classroom. She referred to the mixed emotions she experienced when she observed her mentoring teacher grab hold of and shake one of her pupils in order to control his behavior. Although she had expressed horror at this event, she later found herself using the same tactic with the same pupil at the beginning of her soloing experience.

Iannaccone (1963) provided useful understanding of the transition stages experienced by student-teachers during their training. However, his study did not address specific interactions and experiences student-teachers had. These neglected facets included: (a) their pupils, (b) their own internal changes as they matured as teachers, (c) their ability to teach, maintain classroom management and construct unit plans, and (d) their experiences outside the classroom such as with parents, school environments and supervisors.

Pogue (1969) traced the concerns expressed by student-teachers. He observed four stages. In the first, he noticed that student-teachers were "self-centered," primarily concerned about how they looked, what they said, and what their supervisors thought of them. As the student-teachers entered Stage 2, they became more concerned about maintaining classroom control and discipline. Pogue (1969) claimed that the purpose of

the classroom control, however, had to do with the enhancement of self in the eyes of the mentoring teachers. Stage 3 was distinguished from the two previous stages. As the student-teachers now began to focus their attention on pupil expectations, it became important for student-teachers to know that pupils were meeting the various lesson objectives. According to Pogue (1964) the fourth stage of student-teaching was "rarely obtained." Those student-teachers who did reach this level were able to assist their pupils to "formulate plans and achieve aspirations" (p.39). According to Pogue, not all student-teachers progressed through the same developmental stages. Some entered their practicums at Stage 3 or 4, whereas others never got past Stage 1 or 2.

Fuller (1969) attempted to fill some of the gaps in the literature. She examined the concerns that student-teachers had during their training. Fuller (1967, 1969) and Fuller and Brown (1975) concluded that student-teachers became less concerned about themselves and more concerned about the pupils as time passed. Pilard and Anglin (1993) summarized Fuller's three stages:

In the pre-teaching phase students rarely had specific concerns relating to teaching itself and thought of teaching in terms of their own experiences as young pupils and/or college students. During the early teaching phase, students were concerned about their own ability to teach. By the late-concern phase, students were more concerned about the pupils than themselves. Self-evaluation was more important to the student-teacher than personal gain or the evaluation of others (p. 20).

Fuller's (1969) study, considered to be a landmark, used an inductive analysis of data collected weekly from a counseling psychologist's taped interviews of two groups of preservice teachers, covering eleven weeks of student-teaching. One group had six

student-teachers and the other eight. The latter group also employed a second counseling psychologist to corroborate the interpretations of the data. These "stages of concern" indicated a progression of concerns, beginning with self-absorption and later becoming concerned with the pupil. Fuller stated, "student-teachers were, during the first three weeks of the semester concerned mostly with themselves, shifting to more concern with pupils toward the end of their student-teaching" (p. 213).

In a later study, Fuller and Brown (1975), elaborated a four-stage developmental model of student-teacher concerns as they progress to becoming teachers. These "stages" have been articulated by student-teachers in terms of what they were concerned about as opposed to what they were actually accomplishing. The first set of concerns arose as pre-service teachers "identif[ied] realistically with the pupil, but with the teacher only as fantasy." (Fuller et al., 1975, p.38). Here, student-teachers were said to view education courses. They generally sided with the pupils, almost viewing the teacher as "the enemy." The second stage of concerns occurred during the beginning phase of teacher-training. Here notions of idealism toward pupils were replaced with concerns about the ability to teach and maintain classroom control. Fuller (1975) noted that stress at this point was exacerbated by the constraints in teacher education programs themselves, especially the conflicting values between Colleges of Education and the public schools. Poor relationships between university supervisors and mentoring teachers often placed the interns in conflict between the two. Theory driven courses offered by the university did

not match the curriculum exhibited by the local schools. Interns felt torn between what was taught at the university and what was experienced in the classroom.

The third stage of concerns was marked by an increased awareness of limitations and frustrations in the teaching situation, teaching performance, and demands centering on educational courses and materials previously taken. Fuller (1975) used the example of interns "frantically trying to locate class notes and suggestions made in earlier education courses." (p. 39). In the fourth stage, student-teachers expressed deep concern regarding the emotional needs of the pupils and about their own ability to relate to pupils as individuals. Overwhelmed with feelings of inadequacy, circumstances and situational demands and conflicts, the student-teachers learned to set aside these feelings "until they have learned to cope with more urgent tasks, such as being heard above the din" (Fuller, 1975, p. 39).

A five-year longitudinal study by Adam (cited in Burden, 1990), surveying student-teachers in specific grades supported Fuller's findings about the sequence of, and types of concerns felt, by the interns. One exception found by Adam was a lack of concern student-teachers felt towards pupils. Adam also reported significant differences between "elementary and secondary teachers with respect to concerns about self, about instructional tasks and about pupil impact. In each case elementary teachers reported greater concern" (Burden, 1990, p. 313).

Research by Lanier and Little (1986) likewise supported Fuller's research by finding commonalties of concern expressed by student-teachers. However, Lanier and

Little did not find these commonalities occurred in the clusters suggested by Fuller. Nor did they find that they occurred sequentially. Instead, concerns relating to self, survival, teaching tasks, pupil learning, materials and curriculum development evolved simultaneously and were dealt with concurrently by the student-teachers.

Later studies (Caruso, 1977; Sacks & Harrington, 1982) explored student attitudes and feelings about themselves and how those feelings affected the development of the student-teachers' personal and professional identity. Caruso (1977) was the first to conceptually label the stages of student-teaching by referring to students' feelings. He described those feelings in dichotomous terms, claiming that the student-teaching process was a "pervasive experience accompanied by many ambivalent feelings -- joy, fear, love, guilt, frustrations and anger" (Caruso, 1977, p. 57). Caruso sequenced the competing of emotions as follows: Phase I -- anxiety/euphoria, Phase II -- confusion/clarity, Phase III -- competency/inadequacy, Phase IV -- criticism/new awareness, Phase V -- confidence/greater inadequacy, and Phase VI -- loss/relief.

During Phase I anxiety/euphoria, student-teachers expressed simultaneously dichotomous emotions. On one hand they felt anxiety about being introduced to the school, its staff, and its pupils. Potential acceptance or rejection by their mentoring teachers, their supervisors and their pupils led the interns to ask a variety of questions such as: "Will I be accepted by my co-operating teacher? Will our relationship be open? I don't know anything about second graders. Will they like me?" (Caruso, 1977, p. 57).

On the other hand, these same student-teachers expressed great euphoria and excitement about being in the classroom.

Phase II - Confusion/Clarity occurred, according to Caruso, when student-teachers received their full time teacher assignments. At this time student-teachers were given the responsibility of being in charge of a small group of children. Initially, a sense of panic was described in statements such as: "I don't know anything about curriculum . . . and . . . I had a reading course, but it was all theory, I didn't learn how to teach it!" (Caruso, 1977, p. 56). The student-teachers soon learned to handle the situation, constantly testing the boundaries between themselves and their cooperating teachers. Challenge came from the constant attempt to balance expectations learned at college with the practicalities of classroom demands. Having responsibility for creating lesson plans, designing and implementing unit plans, and maintaining writing journals all added to the confusion of student-teacher's experiences. To cope, student-teachers attempted to "reduce the enormous complexity of the classroom." (Caruso, 1977, p. 58). Elaborating on this further, Caruso (1977) stated:

At this point, students' perceptions of the classroom and awareness of what is transpiring around them are very narrow. Although their scope is limited at this time, it is through this very narrowness that the bits and pieces of the puzzle begin to be assembled (p.58).

Phase III, Competence/Inadequacy, was a time when student-teachers begin to feel confident about being able to motivate the pupils in their classrooms. However, it was also a time in which they had need of a great deal of reinforcement from cooperating teachers and supervisors, and the opportunity to talk to other student-teachers to build

self-confidence and validate their feelings. Caruso stated that "Although students know they have made progress, there is still a sense of being overwhelmed." (Caruso, 1977, p. 58). A question of "Am I going to make it?" continued to be pondered in the minds of the student-teacher. One student was quoted as stating: "Some days I feel like I'll never be able to teach a class and then others days I feel very competent and pleased. It's a good feeling" (Caruso, p.59).

Phase IV, the Criticism/New Awareness stage, occurred when students began to see past the "rose colored glasses," to observe their own teaching and the teaching of their mentoring teachers with healthy, critical skepticism. Student-teachers at this stage were to make comments such as "If it were my classroom, I would do it differently" (Caruso, 1977, p. 60) and were willing to discuss the imperfection of their mentoring teacher with other student-teachers. Caruso (1977) suggested that besides becoming more critical of self and others, the student-teachers began to see the classroom in broader terms.

In Phase V, More Confidence/Greater Inadequacy, student-teachers had grown in confidence to begin to enjoy their ability to teach. They had a desire to assume more responsibility and take over the teaching completely. Caruso contended that this period was a time of tension between mentoring-teachers and student-teachers. Student-teachers desired to take full responsibility for the classroom, often resulting in mentoring-teachers "getting in the way." For mentoring-teachers, resentment might have arisen as they felt unappreciated and bypassed. During this phase, student-teachers also may have become "haunted" by their own high expectations they had set for themselves.

The sixth and last set of feelings that the student-teacher's experienced, was loss/relief. Loss was felt by the realization that they might not see or have any more contact with the pupils and that they may have hoped to achieve more with their pupils. On the other hand there was the experience of relief that training and immediate responsibilities were over. Caruso's study and conceptualization of dichotomous experiences suggested that the student-teaching was filled with many conflicting emotions which were:

brought about by the difficulties inherent in the concurrent development of a personal and professional self-identity, the timing and sequence and training experiences, the ambiguity of the role of student-teacher, the development of personality and role of conflicts with others, unfamiliarity with the school context and the adventure and uncertainty always associated with the unknown. (Caruso, 1977, p. 63)

Research on stages of student-teaching received a boost from Sacks and Harrington (1982) who examined the role of transition from student-teacher to teacher. Sacks and Harrington (1982) identified six stages that student-teachers passed through as they became teachers and recommended intervention strategies appropriate to each stage. "The strategies would start with a focus on details of the student-teaching assignment and end with a focus on specific teaching behaviors" (Sacks & Harrington, 1982, p. 312).

As a result of their research, conducted with liberal arts students during student-teaching, Sacks and Harrington (1982) conceptually labeled five stages: Stage I, Anticipation, began prior to the teaching placement and was characterized by student-teachers exhibiting eagerness, excitement and nervous. Stage II, Entry, began when student-teachers displayed the opposite feelings of euphoria and anxiety and began to

question whether the challenges of teaching were too great. Stage III, Orientation, occurred as student-teachers became aware of the complexities of teaching and their feelings of inadequacy. Stage IV, Trial and Error, was the longest stage and occurred as student-teachers attempted to find the right ways to teach, manage pupils, take charge, and develop into autonomous teachers. Student-teachers often described this stage as needing to “be able to relate to the student in a more personal way in order to become an effective teacher. It’s like walking a tight-rope. I’m striving to become the best tight-rope walker around” (Sacks & Harrington, 1982, p. 156).

The fifth stage, Integration/Consolidation, occurred as student-teachers critiqued their own performances, set realistic goals, and concentrated on the needs of pupils. Student-teachers recognize a multitude of ways to achieve effective teaching and begin to recognize that the class is composed of individuals with different needs. The sixth and final stage, Mastery, was only obtained by a few student-teachers for lasting periods of time. It was characterized by

an understanding of the self as person and teacher, of one’s strength and weaknesses, and a recognition that there are many ways to achieve effectiveness as a teacher. Significantly, pupils are learning, and growth and change in them are clearly evident. (p.157).

Pilard (1993) used both qualitative and quantitative methods as she observed and followed five elementary student-teachers during their practicum experiences. She found that student-teachers passed through four developmental stages: (a) fear/uncertainty, (2) socialization, (3) autonomy, and (4) affirmation. Like most of the researchers mentioned above, she found the initial phase of student-teaching marked by feelings of fear,

nervousness, anxiety, frustration and uncertainty. Much of the fear is of the unknown. Pilard's interns entered training with excitement, high expectations and numerous questions. Once the questions were answered and they were introduced to the pupils, teachers, and school facilities, they moved readily into the next stage of development.

The second stage, "Socialization," was marked by the need of student-teachers to be recognized and accepted by both the mentoring-teachers and pupils. This was a time of building trust between mentoring-teachers and student-teachers. The apex of this trust occurred when mentoring-teachers gave permission to interns to teach, and the interns received positive feedback from the pupils.

The third stage was referred to by student-teachers as a time of autonomy. It was a time when student-teachers' confidence levels were sufficiently high to express readiness to take on more responsibility including increased control of discipline, classroom management and daily planning of lessons. Student-teachers wanted to function in the authority role.

The final stage, "Affirmation," reflected student-teachers' need to feel affirmed by pupils. At this juncture formal evaluations recognized the student-teachers' knowledge of content and ability to teach and personal affirmations have been met by accomplishing the goals and previously set expectations. Graduation and teaching certification were considered pronouncements by the teaching profession. In this final stage, several student-teachers expressed a sense of loss as they missed their pupils (Pilard, 1993; Pilard & Anglin 1993).

Conclusion

Adults involved in the preparation of becoming teachers are often required to spend a large portion of their training in the classroom as they progress from being students to being teachers. Numerous investigators have demonstrated that pre-service teachers go through various stages of development during this time. These findings should help supervisors and school administrators to improve teacher preparation and in-service programs as well as to facilitate the transition of student-teachers to professional educators.

Much of the research to date on student teaching is concerned with the developmental stages through which student-teachers evolve. The research has focused on student-teachers' concerns (Fuller, 1975), their growth in terms of transitioning from being a student to a teacher (Pogue, 1969), and the socialization process involved in student-teaching (Pilard, 1993). However, very little research existed on the experiences of the interns who spend nine months practicing teaching. This lack was especially noteworthy concerning student-teachers in the inner city schools. A novel feature of the present research is the use of qualitative methods to examine the experiences and perceptions of interns with inner-city schools and from their own point of view.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

...humans are storytelling organisms who, individually or socially, lead storied lives. Thus, the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world...

(Connelly & Clandinin, 1990)

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences and perceptions of five women student-teachers as they taught over a nine month period in two inner-city schools in a southeastern community. A qualitative research design was utilized and three separate sources of text were gathered in order to understand these experiences. Interviews, as well as both written and oral reflections, were used as narratives to discover and identify the perceptions and experiences of this group of interns. The study sought to create opportunities for the interns' voices to be heard as they explored and told their stories during their internship year. In addition, this study aimed to contribute to the professional literature in teacher education. As such, it may help educators involved with teacher preparation programs to better understand the effects of the internship year on the students. This chapter explores: (a) the theoretical framework guiding the study, (b) the description of research, (c) the pilot test, (d) the researcher's bias, (e) the identification and selection of participants, (f) the collection of data, (g) the interviews, (h) participant validation, (i) data analysis, and (j) the validation of the thematic structure.

Theoretical Framework

The present study employed the research tools of symbolic interactionism, and narrative inquiry. The term "symbolic interaction" was first coined by Herbert Blumer in 1937 to explain a social psychological perspective and methodology. Building upon work by Herbert Mead (1937), Blumer refined the initial theory and added a methodological treatment to examine the social reality of how people interpret their actions and the way others behave toward them (Bruner, 1969; Sitter, 1982). 'Meaning' was defined as personal and derived from the interpretation of events and interactions (including any subsequent readers and listener's interpretations).

According to Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism has been built upon three premises. The first premise was that human beings act toward things relative to the meanings that such things have for them. The second premise was that the meaning of things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others. The third premise was that meaning is mediated by, and modified through, an interpretative process used by people to deal with the things they encounter. Human beings are said not to respond to stimuli directly, but rather to their symbolic meaning (often linguistic).

Symbolic interactionists have explored the functional relationship between how people perceive themselves, how they see others, and how they believe others perceive them (Blumer, 1969; Mains, 1978; Van Manen, 1988). Blumer (1969, p. 12) described the interactions of individuals as lines of actions which collectively must be recognized as the inter-linkage of separate acts by the various participants. Sitter (1982) described the

importance of how meaning is derived from these lines of actions which are based on two distinct areas. She stated: "(a) 'worlds' exist for human beings and are composed of 'objects,' and (b) each human being possesses 'self' which allows him to be an object to himself" (Sitter, 1982, p. 97). Objects ranged from the physical (desks, blackboards chalk) to the social (i.e., teachers, students, supervisors) to the abstract (love, intelligence, creativity). Hence, the nature of objects consisted of the meanings they had for people. Meanings therefore, are derived from the ways in which objects act towards people and how people interpreted the object's actions. When interacting with one another, people first assessed what other people were or are about to do. Decisions and actions follow this interpretative process. Symbolic interactionists have attempted to understand the meaning that objects have for the subjects by looking at the interpretative process involved when meanings are constructed.

In summary, symbolic interactionists have attempted to understand the cycle of decision-making and the action taken by individuals in a given situation. Hence, an important part of making meaning of the experiences of interns in the inner-city is to understand the meaning of the experiences that teaching in the inner city had for them. This required analyzing the interpretive processes of the student-teachers in which they found meaning within their unique situations as well as any subsequent actions that occurred.

Lived experiences can be translated into rich narrative stories. Narrative in the form of stories, has become a powerful tool for researchers. The following discussion focused on 'narrative' as a form of research.

As Noddings (1991) claimed, "stories have the power to direct and change our lives" (p.157). In the early 1990's, educational researchers such as Carter (1993), Connelly and Clandinin (1990), and Van Manen (1991) turned their attention to the benefits of collecting stories. Carter (1993) stated that the purpose was to "capture the richness and indeterminacy of our experiences" resulting in narrative stories as "a central focus for conducting research in the field" (p.5).

Narrative accounts became important ways for teachers to think about their students, their culture, and the behavior that surrounds them. Cortazzi (1993) explained that "it is crucial to understand these aspects of teachers' lives if current efforts toward improvements and reforms of a number of educational systems around the world are to be effective" (Cortazzi, 1993, p. 10). He also indicated that it is important to begin to understand and perceive how both preservice and inservice teachers see and understand their situations, claiming that "what their experience [is] like, what they believe and how they think" (p. 11) are vital aspects in the understanding of teaching. In short, we need to know more about the teachers' culture, from the inside" (p. 11). Narrative research has provided a means by which researchers can listen to the experiences of student-teachers and, thus, better understand the culture of the schools from the student-teacher's perspective.

Cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner (1969) postulated that there were basically two styles by which people perceive and understand the events of their lives. He spoke of a "paradigmatic" style and a "narrative" style of understanding. The paradigmatic style is the search for a universal truth. This is also known as the logical and scientific mode of thought. Rationality is often said to be the main discourse in paradigmatic thinking because it advances the "notion of hypothesis, reported evidences, and systematically inferred conclusions" (Polkinghorne, 1990, p. 9

Bruner's (1969) second mode of thought was based on personal narratives and deals with the communication of emotional experiences. Bruner (1985) argued that narrative knowledge was more than mere emotive expression. He held that narratives are still another form of reasoned knowing. He suggested that two distinct forms of reasoning offer alternate ways in which to understand the world.

There are two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experiences, of constructing reality. The two (though complementary) are irreducible to one another.... Each of the ways of knowing, moreover, has operating principles of its own and its own criteria of well-formedness. They differ radically in their procedures for verification. (Bruner, 1985, p. 11)

Carter (1993), Polkinghorne (1990) and Bruner (1969) also contended that both paradigmatic and narrative cognition can aid educators and researchers in understanding lived experiences. Both modes of thinking were part of the reasoning process and helped people make sense of their experiences.

Qualitative researchers have used both paradigmatic analysis and narrative analysis when classifying and drawing conclusions regarding particular phenomena. Paradigmatic

analysts have classified data in order to bring meaning to it. Coding schemes have been designed to group items by similarity and to separate the more disparate of data sets. Each set of data has been inspected "to identify the common attributes that define them as members of a category" (Strauss, 1987 p. 34). Many qualitative researchers have not been content to simply identify and label categories, but go on to seek a second level of analysis by seeking connections among the types.

Whereas paradigmatic analysts sought to bind together common actions, narrative analysts were more concerned with the characteristics of particular actions. Carter (1993) argued that narrative reasoning "captures in a special fashion the richness and the nuances of meaning in human affairs" and that "this richness and nuances cannot be expressed in definitions, statements of facts, or abstract propositions." (Carter, 1993, p. 6).

Paradigmatic interpretations were sought in individual words that named concepts, and narrative knowledge was maintained in emplotted stories (Polkinghorne, 1995). It is in the memories of emplotted stories in which the complexities of lived experiences have connected with the emotional meaning. Based upon Bruner's (1983, 1985) works, Polkinghorne (1995) coined the phrases analysis of narrative to incorporate the paradigmatic interpretation of stories and events of experiences, and narrative analysis as the type that uses narrative reasoning. Polkinghorne (1995) stated the following:

In the first type, analysis of narratives, researchers collect stories as data and analyze them with a paradigmatic processes. The paradigmatic analysis results in descriptions of themes that hold across the stories or in taxonomies of types of stories, characters, or settings. In the second type, narrative analysis, researchers collect descriptions of events and happenings and synthesize or configure them by means of a plot into a story or stories (for example, a history, case study, or biographic episode). Thus, analysis of narratives moves

from stories to common elements, and narrative analysis moves from elements to stories. (p. 12)

The combination of both provides the researcher with a thick, rich description of the phenomena being analyzed.

Van Manen (1988) argued that orally generated stories must first be transcribed into written texts in order to generate meaning; it has been through this "textualized" form that the data yield to analysis. Stories generated by a participant, once transcribed and textualized, were ready for analysis. As described, analysis of narrative (paradigmatic) helps the researcher to understand common themes or plots that run through the stories. This is achieved, according to Polkinghorne (1995), either through a deductive or inductive manner. Deductive analysis used prior schemes, previous theory, or logical possibilities which were superimposed upon the data in order to establish whether instances of these concepts are to be found. In contrast, inductive analysis involved a continuous cycle of moving back from the textualized data to the researchers-proposed categories or conceptual definitions. The "proposed categories" were altered and adapted until the data reached a near perfect fit of ordering of data (Polkinghorne 1995, p. 95).

Distinct from the analysis of narratives were data presented in the form of narrative analysis. This collection of text has been in the form of an emplotted narrative, i.e., a series of themes and plots joined together into a unified text. The final outcome of a narrative analysis is in the form of a story -- for instance a historical account, a case study, a life story, or a storied episode of a person's life. The role of the researcher is to configure and organize the data elements into a coherent story that unites and gives

meaning to the data. Polkinghorne (1995) claimed that the researcher's role is to "discover a plot that displays the linkage among the data elements as parts of an unfolding temporal development culminating in the document" (p. 15). The process of narrative analysis is the bringing together, or the synthesis, of various separate parts into a completed unified whole story. It is important to note that the finished product, or story, is bound by time.

Description of the Research

The research question involving the phenomenology of intern's teaching as they interacted and made meaning of their perceptions in their social context elicited descriptions and stories of lived experiences. These descriptions helped to reveal the perceptions, attitudes, and cognitive interpretations of the interns as they attempt to make sense of their new environments. The following sequence described the order that was used to carry out the research. First, a pilot study was conducted. Second, researcher biases were explored. Third, participants were identified. Fourth, interviews were conducted. Fifth, reflections were written by the participants and audio-taped discussions were conducted of group reflections. Both the interviews and audio-tape discussions were transcribed. Sixth, audio-taped discussions of group reflections were made. Finally, all the data were analyzed. Further discussion relating to each of these steps follows.

Pilot Testing

As part of a doctoral research course in 1995, I surveyed and analyzed the narrative accounts written by interns as they experienced training in the inner-city schools. Through this project I acquired practice at performing paradigmatic analyses of qualitative data. Twenty-four interns described their experiences through weekly written reflections throughout the course of their internship. This study also provided an opportunity to synthesize the lived experiences of interns working in the inner-city schools. Several broad themes emerged from the study, inspiring me to continue this line of research. These interns experienced a vast array of emotions relating to their mentoring teacher, the university and their own sense of self-worth.

Bias Exploration and Bracketing

Bias has been an implicit element of research, and perhaps even more so within qualitative research which typically eschews the usual control procedures in order to capture the 'here and now.' Exploring bias, therefore, has been a continuous process throughout the phases of data collection and analysis. Although it is impossible to completely avoid biases in either qualitative or quantitative research, Van Manen (1990) indicated that the researcher takes a 'stance' throughout the process which needs to be articulated by the researcher prior to the study. Sideman (1991) recommended that the researcher submit to a bracketing interview to further clarify pre-existing assumptions. The bracketing interview involved my engagement in an interview by an experienced interviewer answering the same, or very similar, questions that were used in the study.

The process of my bracketing interview was valuable in that it helped expose several areas of concern to which I needed to attend during my data collection and analysis. Of particular concern were my attitudes and philosophy toward teaching, gender issues, and the power structure between me and the interns (as I was their instructor).

Prior to interviewing the participants in this study, an hour-long qualitative interview was conducted by a doctoral candidate working on a similar project. In keeping with the tenets of a bracketing interview, he asked the questions of me that I had prepared to ask of the participants (Appendix B) in my study. In general, these questions focused on my attitudes to the interns, about my philosophy of education, and how I felt about teaching in an inner-city school. Several biases were revealed.

My own education as well as ten years as an elementary teacher took place in England and Canada in addition to the United States. I have thus been exposed to a wide variety of educational philosophies and practices. From these I have constructed a personal belief in the importance of teaching the 'whole child.' I believe that all aspects of children's development, including their emotional, physical, social, and intellectual domains, require nurturing in the school. My personal approach to education is generally known as 'child-centered' (i.e., allowing the child to be the focus rather than, in effect, the teacher), 'integrated' (i.e., combining all aspects of the curriculum into a centralized theme), and 'experiential' (i.e., engaging the student physically, emotionally and intellectually with the subject matter). These attitudes of mine might bias the interns in this study, all of whom I have instructed. This bias might have appeared in the type of

answers they gave to me or may have caused them hold back certain information. For instance, the interns might not have felt comfortable in making a comment which suggested that they were supporting the mentoring teacher, particularly if that teacher represented of a teaching philosophy other than mine. During the data analysis I needed to be particularly careful: (a) not to infer, or impose my beliefs or thoughts onto what the intern is saying, (b) not to make assumptions regarding the interns' actions or their interpretations regarding their mentoring teachers.

My educational philosophy might not have been shared by the mentoring teachers in the inner-city schools. Indeed, I have observed that some inner-city schools placed more emphasis on maintaining strict classroom management to control disruptive behavior than I might be happy with. Any conflict between my own philosophy and that found in the school may have placed the interns in an uncomfortable state as they progress through their training. I needed to be careful not to project my personal philosophy onto the interns or their answers, particularly when interpreting their responses to issues that I may have initiated.

Because I am a male, and because most elementary teachers are female (Barker, 1992) I often sensed some discomfort from other teachers with my gender during my ten years as an elementary teacher. This was perhaps understandable since males in elementary education have often assumed dominant roles in supervision and administrative positions. As such, this may have provided a special challenge to get an unbiased assessment when exploring the experiences of five women interns. First, as a male

instructor, I may have brought to the research a male-orientated instrumental or commanding orientation that differed from the women in this study. Any such male-oriented tendency to dominate may have been added to by my previous ten years of experience in the classroom. Moreover, as an instructor to these interns for two separate methods courses, a strong teacher-student relationship had been established along with my role as an evaluator of their work.

Although the interns were aware of my educational philosophy of tolerance it may be that the power structure (male-female, instructor-student) existing between the students and myself might have produced feelings of concern within them. Moreover, two of the female interns were African American. Because I am white, this may have added even further concerns of one kind or another to these two interns. As highlighted in the bracketing interview, I had very limited exposure to teaching in inner-city schools. Hence, if the student-teachers thought I might be unsympathetic to their perspective or appear disinterested to the pupils in the inner-cities they may have decided to withhold from me some of their feelings. Although I have taught various grades and subjects, including methods courses for these interns, my exposure to African-American children living in low socio-economic environments has been limited. The interns might have expected advice in dealing with their personal struggles regarding their situation and felt that I was unable to relate to their situation.

It was important during the data analysis to review these biases and to recognize their possible influence on my interpretation of the interns' narratives. In order to better

understand my biases more clearly and to provide a validation of information and analysis, two separate advisory groups were formed. The first, comprising a small group of qualitative researchers, raised issues and questions during the formative portion of the project. The second, comprising one intern, two committee members, and a mentoring teacher, raised on-going issues during the validation portion of the thesis. Also, I listened to the audio-tape of the bracketing interview prior to the interviews with the interns and the subsequent data analysis thereof order to keep my biases at the forefront of consciousness.

Identification and Selection of Participants

The selection of participant interns for this study was based upon the schools they had chosen for their internship. The university had formally identified two particular schools as being 'inner-city' based on their racial and socioeconomic composition. Both schools included 97% African American students with 95% of the students qualifying for federal fee waivers including free lunches. The interns also met the university's criteria of being fifth year Master's students finishing their degree by completing an academic year-long internship. Three interns were in one of the schools and two interns were at another school.

I approached each of these interns in person prior to the beginning of their internships. I gave them a verbal and written explanation of the nature and process of the study (Appendix A). I emphasized the voluntary nature of choosing to participate. The interns were given a week to decide whether to participate. Once an intern decided to

take part she was asked to sign an Informed Consent Statement (Appendix B). I made the voluntary nature of the project as clear as I could and reassured the interns that there would be no repercussions if they decided not to participate in the study or if, at any time during the study, they decided not to continue. All interns signed the informed consent statements (Appendix B).

Initially seven interns were approached and interviewed. However, as the semester came to a close, one of the interns was required to leave her placement for personal reasons while another was unable to finish the last interview. The data collected from the five remaining interns was deemed sufficient to conclude this study.

Collection of Data

Data were collected from three sources. The primary source of information for participants comprised four-two hour interviews, spaced evenly over the ten months of the internship (August - May). The first interviews were conducted immediately prior to the internship year (Mid August), two were conducted at equally spaced intervals during the internship year (November and February), and the fourth was conducted during the last few weeks of the internship year (May). All interviews took place at the university after school classes were finished. During the interviews, the interns discussed their experiences and perceptions of teaching in inner-city schools. The interviews were later transcribed. Interview questions (Appendix D) focused on the interns experiences and perceptions. To guide the interview, I asked questions such as, "What experiences stood

out for you the most?" "Tell me a story about what has happened to you or one of your students, during the past month?" and "What has impacted you the most?"

A second source of data was the weekly two page reflections that the interns wrote regarding their experiences the previous week. These written reflections were collected once a week for the first three months of the internship year (September - December). Due to required course work by other instructors and a change of instructors, the written reflections were no longer required after December.

A third source of data consisted of weekly taped discussions the participants had with each other regarding their experiences during the previous week. Essentially, the participants discussed what they had written in their weekly reflections. These discussions took place in weekly group meetings as part of a methods course during the first semester (September - December). The interns had the opportunity to listen to and reflect upon each others' experiences as they discussed the preceding week's events. These oral reflections went from September to December. All interviews, weekly discussions, and individual interviews were audio-taped and transcribed.

The Interviews

The narrative accounts given by the participants were collected through a series of unstructured interviews. Because interviewing technique is an important aspect of data collection, I followed standard procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Mishler, 1986; Spradley, 1979) and built rapport by conveying to the participants that they were being

listened to and that their views were being taken seriously. I also tried to make them feel free to raise new topics

All interviews were transcribed and copies given to the participants prior to their next interviews. The purpose of providing a copies of the previous interviews was to provide the interns with the opportunity to delete any portions of the texts that they felt uncomfortable with. I used a guide (Appendix B) to keep the conversation related to the relevant issues. Not all issues were raised with each participant. Conversations were allowed to develop in whatever direction seemed important to the participants.

Participant Validation

Interviews were transcribed and copies provided to the interns prior to their next interviews. Short written summaries were also provided outlining what I thought were the major points made in the previous interviews. I did this in order to provide opportunities for the interns to reflect on what they had said as well as to expand upon, or delete, information they felt was appropriate. Before continuing with the next interviews, the intern were encouraged to make changes to the summaries and interviews so that they more accurately reflected what they had wanted to say. Final copies of the narratives were also sent (in the form of individual vignettes) to the interns with letters requesting them to write back outlining their thoughts and reactions to the specific vignettes.

Data Analysis

Inductive, paradigmatic analyses were made of the narratives (the transcripts of the interviews, the weekly reflections, and the transcribed group reflection sessions) to reveal

the themes of the interns' lived experiences. Common themes were coded in order to retell the interns' stories. Marshall and Rossman (1989) have presented a sequence of five analytical procedures to aid researcher to organize, synthesize, analyze, and present data. In brief, these fall into the following categories: (a) organizing the data; (b) generating categories, themes, and patterns; (c) testing emergent hypotheses against the data; (d) searching for alternative explanations of the data; and (e) writing the report. I followed these recommendations and integrated all the sources of data into a unified and focused account that hopefully depicted the lived experiences of the interns.

Validation of Thematic Structure

To help maintain research integrity throughout this process I established two advisory groups. The first consisted of six Ph.D. candidates who met to provide feedback and insight into each other's work. Each of the six read my prospectus and made numerous suggestions. Furthermore, I established a second group that consisted of two committee members, an intern from the Urban/Multicultural cohort, and a mentoring-teacher (not engaged in the particular study). This group discussed the themes and findings of my study up to this point. The group was presented with data in the form of graphs and tables depicting the interns' narratives. The group indicated areas that might be expanded and explored. Finally, a third validity check was sought by sending, to the intern, my own rendition of the individual vignettes and common themes that I felt had emerged from their experiences. Interns were encouraged to respond to how I had described their experiences.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROCESS

We are in charge, but we aren't. We are teachers, but we aren't.
We are respected by some, but not by all.
We are told, this is not your class, but also called a teacher.
We go to staff meetings and do breakfast duty,
We are considered staff, but never see any money.
We teach, watch, grow, and learn. We love kids and then are rotated.
We feel prepared and then feel like babies.
We cry, we pout, we do well, we succeed.
We are watched and on display.
We feel like we can do it, then we fall on our face again.
We want to know where our place is, how long does this last?
What is our identity, our role, our job? We are adults, but feel like a child.
Am I in college or in the real world?
Where am I? I feel capable, but am I?
What is this year going to be like? Are these feelings normal, or strange?
I know I will make it. Can you guess what I am?

Julie - Written Reflection #8

This study was designed to explore and understand the experiences of five women interns as they completed a year long practical training in one of two inner-city schools located in a medium size metropolitan city in a Southern state. Several forms of text were collected over the year in order to capture the interns' experiences. First, four separate audio-taped interviews were carried out with each of the participants (August - November - February - May). Each interview lasted about 1 hour and was later transcribed.

Second, for each of 12 weeks (Late August - early December), the interns wrote weekly reflections on significant events which had taken place the previous week. Third, also during the same time, the interns collectively discussed their experiences. These sessions were audio-taped and later transcribed.

The combination of open-ended interviews and written and oral reflections provided rich sources of data for understanding the interns' experiences. In order to keep track of my journey through their experiences, I organized the three sources of text into a matrix (Table 1). The names of the interns were placed vertically in the first column along with the names of the school they were visiting. In the remaining columns was placed a code for the interns and their written reflections (WR), oral reflections (OR), and interviews (I).

I began by reading all twelve of one intern's written reflections, followed by that intern's four transcribed interviews, and then the transcription of the group reflections that contained comments from that intern. After several readings, I turned to a different intern and continued the process until all five intern's texts had been read. At this point, I went back to the written reflections and wrote a *précis* of each written reflection (Appendix C) along with a summary table of context. I recorded the title of each reflection and the date it had been written (Table 2).

After reading all of the interns' descriptions of their experiences, I chose one intern's text and read it several more times. At this same point I began using colored markers to highlight the different areas of text appearing to share similar themes.

Table 1: Interns' text and classification

INTERN	WRITTEN REFLECTION	ORAL REFLECTION	INTERVIEW
Mary - Washington Pike Elementary	MWR1 - MWR12*	OR1 - OR8	MI1 - MI8
Julie - Washington Pike Elementary	JWR1 - JWR12	OR1 - OR8	JWR11 - JWR18
Mia - Carter Elementary	MIAWR1 - MIAWR12	MIAOR1 - MIAOR8	MIAI1 - MIAI4
Shelly - Carter Elementary	SWR 1 - SWR 12	SOR1 - SOR8	SI1 - SI4
Jillian - Carter Elementary	JIWR1 - JIWR12	JIOR1 - JIOR8	JII1 - JII4

KEY
* M, J, MIA, S, JI – Initial, or name of the intern.
WR - Written Reflection; OR - Oral Reflection; I - Interview.
1-12 - The week that the reflection was written; Oral reflection recorded; or Interview Held

Table 2: Summary of dates and titles of reflections written by interns

No.	DATE	JULIE	MARY	SHELLY	MIA	JILLIAN
#1	9-01-96	Role Conflict	First day of School	Barry	Can't read	Hectic Day
#2	9-06-96	Curtis' Humiliation	Justin - Aunt dies	Thoughts regarding first reflection	Jake	Bradley
#3	9-13-96	Kaci - Dead Cat	Principal	Field Trip	Structured	Mentor absent
#4	9 -19-96	Joshua – Expelled	Tiesha - Identification	Barry's Parents	Jake	Feeling respected
#5	10-03-96	Field Trip – Noise	1st whole class lesson	Stuff	Routines	University evaluation
#6	10-11-96	Doug - Ritlin	Children fighting	Rotation	Routines	Rotation
#7	10-18-96	Riddle	1st day by self	Power	Difficult Lesson	Misses 2nd grade
#8	11-01-96	Profiles of Attitudes	Field Trip	Attitude change	Difficult Lesson	Bored
#9	11-08-96	Inner-City	Field trip - Pinched	Gossip	Field trip	Field Trip
#10	11-15-96	Teachers Actions	Angry with University	More stuff	Good-bye 2nd - Jake	Leaving 4th grade
#11	11-22-96	Praise the Lord	Connecting internship	Pencils	Growth	Back in second
#12	12-05-96		Reality of internship	Mentoring teacher	Growth	

I made notes about key issues in the margins of the interviews alongside the highlighted portions. Thus, references to children were highlighted in one color and information related to mentoring-teachers were highlighted in another color. Many categories emerged covering a wide range of topics. Some of the main ones were related to the interns' interactions with people (children, teachers, principals, supervisors), interactions with the environment (inner-city, university, classroom), and interactions with self (conflicts with self, concerns about maturity). I repeated this highlighting and summarizing procedure on each intern for each of the four interviews, for the written texts, and for the transcribed oral discussions.

When I had completed highlighting the text, I created a separate folder for each of the themes and placed quoted text into these various folders. For example, (Appendix D) references to children were placed in one folder, information relating to mentoring-teachers in another folder, etc.

The next step in the process was to re-read each of these folders separately. Several themes emerged within each topic or folder. I particularly noted that a common theme relating to growth emerged across various folders and that these also seemed to be related to conflict. This conflict varied as to cause and target, but most often included, self, the pupils, interactions with mentoring teachers, and the inner-city environment.

After immersing myself so deeply in the written texts and stories, I then began to write personal vignettes of each intern's experience related to the categories and themes that had emerged. In these vignettes, I tried to capture the individuality of each intern's

experiences by allowing the intern's conversations and reflections to guide the direction of discussion. Each vignette described the experiences of each intern (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).

After writing the vignettes, I analyzed them in terms of commonalities as well as from a more global perspective. I re-examined the textualized experiences (the vignettes, taped interviews and reflections) of the interns collectively, looking for common themes or common underlying processes that might clarify their collective experiences. I began to see a pattern, or rather, a progression of development common to all five interns centering on the issue of conflict. It is not surprising that I noticed this commonality because each intern discussed it at some length. Conflict was evident throughout each intern's experience.

Written Analysis

Over the course of twelve weeks the five participants wrote a total of fifty-five reflections (in some instances an intern wrote one reflection covering several weeks. Each intern was in a classroom for a period of three and a half days for each week during the first semester. It was during that semester that the interns completed one full six week rotation. During this same period a great deal of conflict arose in each of the intern's lives.

The following points are illustrative of the interns' written reflections.

- Forty reflections (80%) dealt with some form of conflict in the intern's life. This conflict either centered on their interaction with specific students, their mentoring teacher, or the university and related issues, i.e., evaluation.
- Of these forty reflections, 47 percent (19 -reflections) made reference directly related to conflict involving children. The conflict involved confusion with and frustration over dealing with individual students in the class.

- Specifically, the interns described how they were unable to maintain discipline. Fourteen reflections of the above forty (73%) involved male pupils and only two 2 reflections (11%) involved female pupils.
- Twenty-one reflections (31 %) also involved the mentoring teacher. Of these, half involved a personal conflict, either with the structure and discipline of the mentoring teacher or in how the intern viewed the mentoring teacher's attitude toward her.

Common Themes Across all Data

Because so many examples of conflict were found in the interviews and oral and written reflections, I decided to examine the ways in which the interns dealt with the problems that were causing the conflict. I believed that I was close to the core of the intern's collective experience. However, it soon became apparent that each intern's sense of conflict was in a different area of school life. Thus, although a common theme of conflict existed, that conflict was particular to each intern. For Julie, it was the mentoring teacher who was the focus, for Shelly and Mia it was the pupils' actions in the classroom, and for Mary it was her despair over the inner-city environment in which the pupils lived that was the source of her distress.

As I delved further into the interviews and vignettes, I began to realize another common theme in the diversity of experience. Although each intern experienced a different set of conflicts and circumstances, they processed them in a similar fashion. It seemed to become clear to me that the interns' own prior experiences, their prior knowledge and their sense of culture were quite different from their perceptions of the culture of the inner-city school where they were completing their internships. It was the differences in the two cultures coming together that seemed to be a common source for

many of the conflicts. I decided to organize these apparent differences graphically by creating a Venn diagram with two circles overlapping each other. One circle represented each intern's personal background and experiences, while another circle represented their perceptions of the culture of the inner-city (Figure 1) as described by them during the interviews and written reflections. At this point I decided to go back to the each vignette and create a Venn diagram representing the contrast in cultures for each intern.

Other common themes involving the conflict began to emerge. For example, each intern had grown emotionally speaking over the year. The catalyst for growth seemed to be the conflict. Also, the conflict often arose out of each intern's interactions between self (intern's culture) and others (school environment). In each case, regardless of the specific issue (which varied from intern to intern), the overlapping of the perceived disparities in culture led each intern to experience states of "disequilibrium." Over time, resolving this disequilibrium seemed to lead to growth within the intern and a smoother interaction with the school environment.

In many cases the growth led to a sense of maturity but in other cases the sense of maturity did not develop. As mentioned this process of development was represented graphically using models. The left hand circle (Figure 1) represented the intern's culture including her age, race, gender, and religion, and an affective domain, for each intern concerning why she had become an intern. A third portion of the same circle (Figure 1) represents each intern's personal knowledge and prior experience with children.

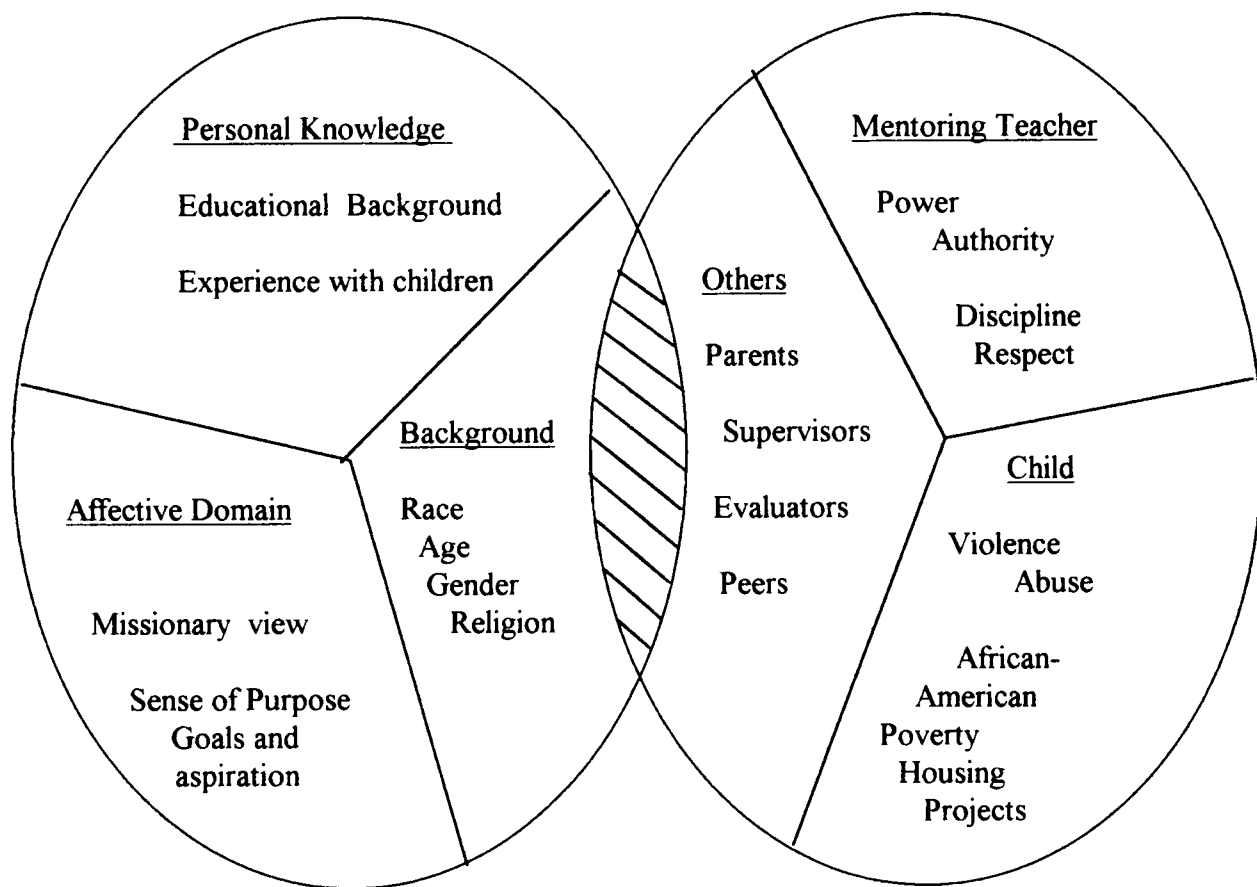
INTERNS CULTURESCHOOL CULTURE

Figure 1. The merging of two distinct cultures. Shaded area represents the specific struggles and conflicts that each intern experienced.

A second circle, overlapping the first, represented the school's culture as perceived by the interns (Figure 1). This second circle represented the majority of information given by the interns during the interviews and written and oral reflections. The area between the two circles (Figure 1) provided the model for the personal growth during the year (Figure 2). As the interns reflected to me their confusions and conflict (via transcribed interviews and written reflections) it became apparent that their personal cultures clashed with their expectations about their new environments and cultures. I demonstrated this through the shading of the overlapped circles. At this point I went back to the folders that I had created and found specific quotes relating to specific themes and re-read through looking for patterns of development. After exploring this juncture for each intern, I found that they all experienced much growth during the year. Each intern had reflected similar experiences as time passed. Although the sources of the conflicts and their resolutions varied from intern to intern, some common issues were found. The process of growth seemed common to all.

To verify this process of development I created tables for each intern, using direct quotes taken from either their interviews or written reflections in order to demonstrate the cycle of growth (Appendix F). The tables helped to order the experiences that each intern had, thus making it easier to observe the progression of development occurring in each of the specific issues. The tables, representing the text of individual intern's issues, combined with the formulation of the overlapping circles (Figure 1) depicting the two cultures (interns versus inner-city), helped me to visualize a model of development that

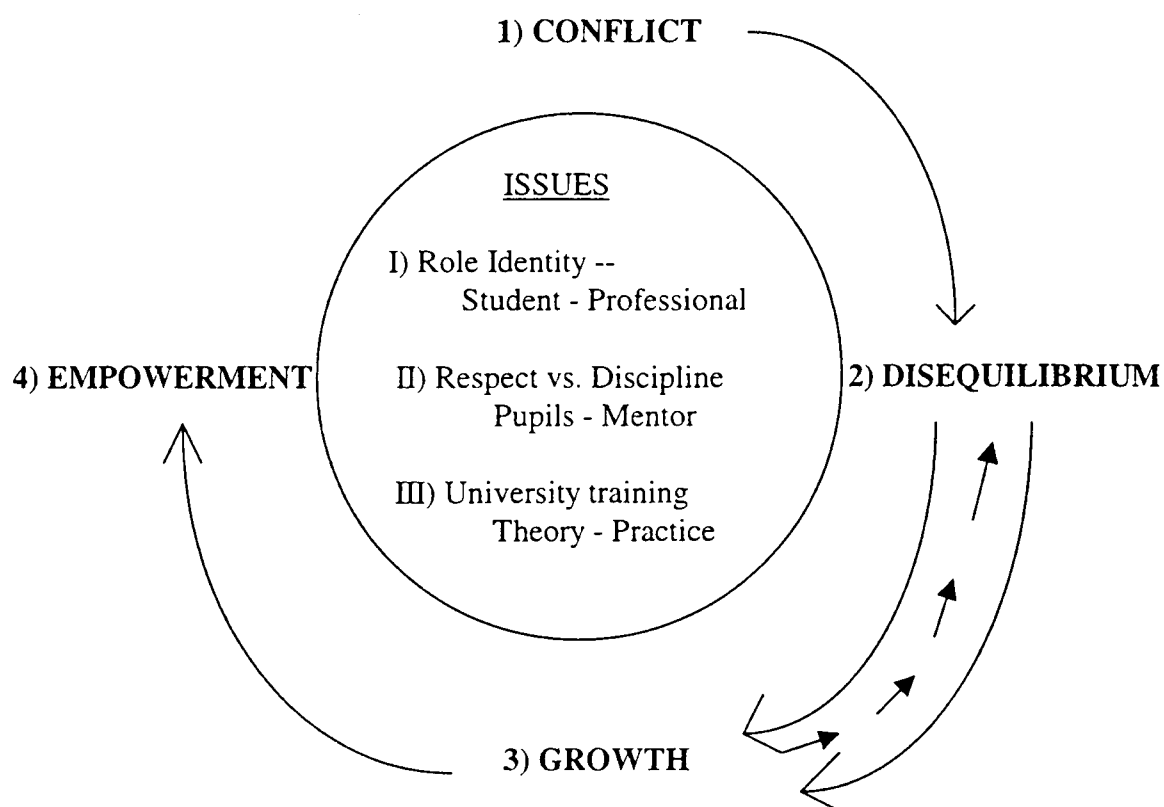


Figure 2. Model illustrates the process that each intern experienced as they developed through the various conflicts during the internship year.

each intern progressed through on their way to making sense of the confusion in their lives (Figure 2).

The first column of Table 3 included each intern's cultures as each described them. The second column indicated the school's culture as perceived by that intern. These two columns were represented by the two circles (Figure 3). The intersection symbolizes the area of conflict and represents the initiation of the a process of conflict resolution. The third column (Table 3) included examples of each of the four phases and illustrated the actual process of development using specific quotes from the intern. The model of conflict resolution began with conflict. At the top of the circle I have placed the term conflict (Figure 2), which is defined here as an issue in the intern's life that caused her to struggle. This conflict was often due to the clash of the two cultures as described by each intern (Figure 3), which created a state of disequilibrium within the intern. This state, often resulting in feelings of confusion and the questioning of self efficacy was especially noticeable during the second interview and toward the last set of written reflections. Over time, however, each intern gained a sense of stability. I believe the initial shock of a "new" culture eventually subsided and the interns grew to feel comfortable in their new surroundings. As still more time passed, they were able to become habituated to the differences between their own cultures and those in the school environment. This period of adjustment resulted in the interns gaining composure and

Table 3: A summary of Julie's narratives

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Maturity
Julie is a twenty-three year old white woman who believes the following about herself... I have an older brother and a younger brother. I had a great family growing up... ...So anyway they got a divorce. It was very hard on us. From like ten to fourteen I lived with my mom. So we moved into a one story house where me and my mom were sharing a bedroom, and then in eighth grade moved to a trailer Middle of my eighth year we moved to Dallas, Texas I grew up Episcopal...I was baptized when I was younger	...his mother was found naked, begging for sex... ...a fourth grader would scream at a teacher, 'Kiss my black ass!... ...I mean seeing fourth grade girls and knowing that they may be sexually active and finding notes that would blow you away.. ...What do you do with a mom who is a prostitute who comes in drunk to meetings ...Washington Pike Elementary is very inner-city, 99% free lunch, very poor ...What do you do when a kid comes to me and says, 'my brother was killed in a gang last night' I need to know what to do	<u>SELF</u> Conflict ...I don't know what the future holds. I don't know if I'm supposed to be a teacher ... Like inner-city ministry, that would be more my job. Disequilibrium ...it is almost like the only relationship I know with inner-city kids is what I had the past two summers.... so now, I don't know the typical 'I'm a teacher, you're a student' kinda relationship, so I'm not going to do that because I don't like it... Growth ...I would say that I have grown a lot. And I can't tell you that I want to teach, I don't think I do. I love getting to know the kids. I think I have realized that I do not want to teach.... Maturity ??? Given the constant struggle with herself, I do not believe Julie reached the 'Maturity' phase of self... The following quote describes her overall feelings: I have grown up a lot. I was twenty-one when I started, and now I am twenty-three and I feel like an old woman. It has worn me out.

Table 3 (continued)

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Maturity
...we were only there [Dallas] six months...we lived in an apartment with my mom. We had no phone, the bill got too high, no air conditioner. Her boyfriend had left her for another lady... ...I feel like the Lord saved me from sex and all that kind of stuff back then... ...When I was fourteen I went and lived with my Dad. ...I'm living in my old, nice two-story house. I became a Christian when I was fifteen I'm still a virgin, I've never been drunk I feel without the Lord...I would have messed around My strongest desire is to be a light in people's lives Now my Dad is remarried and my mom is remarried I don't date that much because, I'm just waiting for...a Godly man that's going to pursue righteousness...	...one little girl drew an erect penis with stuff coming out...I found a dirty note that said, 'he is so fine...I love his ass and his big dick... ...these kids' lives are so messed up, because they are at the Boys or Girls club until like 8:00 in the evening. Their parents are just never there... ...Seeing a mom running up and down the halls barefoot with no bra on and with greasy hair and smelling bad is no big deal... ...Kathy had seen her brother kill her cat... ...I can't wait to go to heaven. Maybe I will get to see my real daddy. He got shot when I was four. My step-daddy just got out of prison and my mom just went in...	<u>CHILD</u> Conflict ...I don't think I've gotten to know the kids enough. I'm so focused on discipline that it is like it puts this barrier between us. Disequilibrium ...Julie will continue to let her child-like strengths be used to teach her students. Maybe other teachers are just jealous, I don't know. I know what, I would rather be on a playground dancing with 4th graders, than in a teachers' meeting any day. Growth ...It has been good the last three weeks teaching. It has not been horrible. I have had the class under control. We had some hard times with one or two children, but because I am in a structured classroom and I have kept her routines and tried a few things, it has gone well. Maturity ...I feel like I have matured. Kind of gotten hard to things, not in a bad way, but like I don't go home every night and cry. It is like, 'you know. Anthony's mom is a prostitute,' and that is just how it is. <u>MENTOR</u> Conflict: ...I struggle with my teacher ...I feel like my teacher is very much a dictator...I don't know that she knows how to relate to children. ...The teacher was mean and hateful, a real drill sergeant.

Table 3 (continued)

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Maturity
I mean I have a strong desire to be a wife and a mom, because I never had stability, I never had a church going family, and that is very important to me I'm very extroverted There was this mission trip to Birmingham Alabama...to work with city kids I never have been around black people very much... Then I had the opportunity to come back the next summer. ...I loved that summer.		<u>MENTOR</u> Disequilibrium: ...I'm scared that I would learn her weaknesses and learn her discipline style... ...When I think of all the teachers in the school who I could have gone with who are total extremes and I got them... Growth: ...I went to her and said, 'Ms. Moyers, do they really need to go to the office?' And it was really hard for me to do that, but I didn't really believe they needed to be there Maturity: ...I would recommend that the new interns go in hard and even though it breaks your heart to be that way, you have to do it. I think if I had know that in the beginning, I would have looked at Ms. Smith differently. 'Cause I went in going in, 'How dare she be this way!' I do think she was too extreme but I look at her now and I have a lot more respect for her.

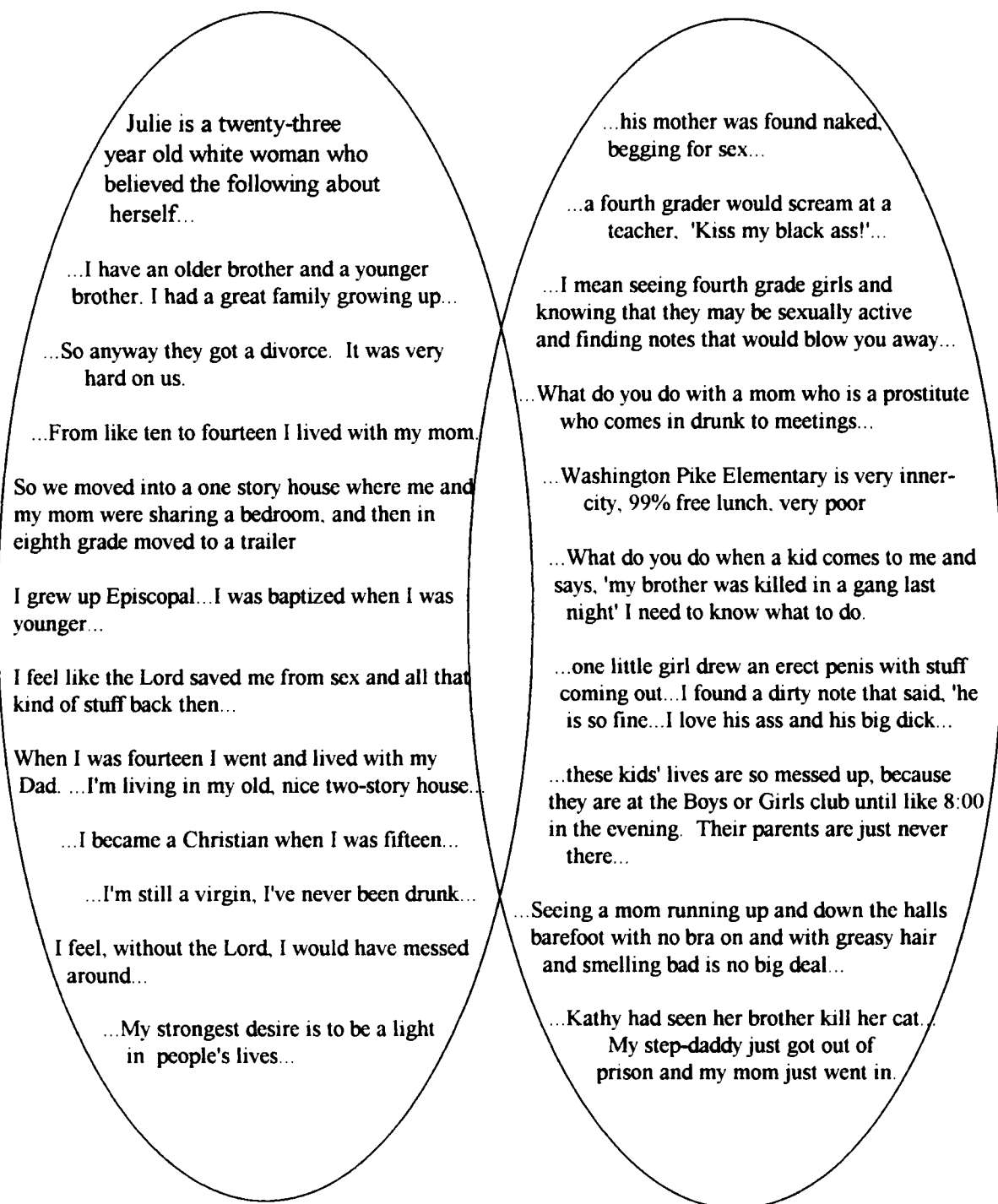
SCHOOL CULTUREJULIE'S CULTURE

Figure 3. Example of intern's culture and school culture overlapping.

becoming able to view their situations more realistically.

In some cases, the issue that had caused the intern to feel conflict eventually became a source of strength. This strength, referred to as maturity (Figure 2), was a state described by interns as a sense of personal authority. They felt a natural sense of control. With confidence high, each intern was willing to take more risks and indeed, seemed to welcome challenge. This change to acceptance of given issues was particularly noticeable during the third and fourth sets of interviews. The interns remained self-assured even when encountering situations that earlier might have caused them to swing back to a state of disequilibrium.

A good example of achieved self-efficacy was the interns' growing maturity with pupils in interactions with their pupils. At the beginning of the year many interns felt a strong wish to befriend their pupils but they soon recognized that often resulted in disagreement with mentoring teachers who viewed such behavior as unprofessional. This conflict with the mentoring-teachers upset the interns and the disagreement over values and beliefs had to be resolved. My sense of what happened is that as the year progressed, the interns: (a) recognized the value of accepting the experiences of the mentoring teacher and indeed embraced their teachers' philosophy toward the pupils; (b) experienced a sense of growth, which led to a sense of maturity with the children. As this cycle was being fulfilled in one area, other problems arose elsewhere.

Conflict was ongoing. As one problem was resolving, another began. Moreover, the process, illustrated in Figure 2, is unlikely to be as simple and smoothly circular a

motion as I have depicted. This is true for several reasons. First, the state of being empowered does not lead back to a state of conflict. Second, multiple conflicts can exist at any one time, involving different levels of intensity and hence be resolvable at different rates and to different degrees. Third, once an intern moves from disequilibrium to growth, the intern might regress back to feelings of confusion. Three-dimensionally, this process might better be represented as a coil spring with the various levels of development (conflict, disequilibrium, growth, maturity) placed upon the coil at different levels. The coil might then be imagined as constantly in motion and moving forward as represented by the duration of the internship year. The levels of development would constantly be changing and moving in a static, non-linear motion.

The next five chapters were designed to capture each individual intern's central experience. I shaped each of these vignettes according to the issues and mood of the intern. Each story was unique. Collectively, their examples provide a possible model by which to better understand the conflicts experienced by interns hoping to teach in inner-city schools. After describing these five interns experiences I will return to the model more fully (Chapter 10).

CHAPTER 5

MARY

*It is where you actually stop,
drop, cover, look, and listen.
That is a drive by drill in case we actually have a shooting...*

Mary was a 22 year old woman who viewed herself as being a "liberal minded feminist" (although not a radical) and who planned on dedicating her life to bringing about the "equal rights of others." Mary saw herself as having a strong spiritual component that, from her point of view, helped balance the aftermath of a problematic childhood. As a child growing up in a rural part of Middle Tennessee, Mary claimed to have had an "unstable" upbringing. Today, she has learned how to cope with and deal with issues of "mental abandonment, sexual harassment, and physical abuse." Equating her childhood to that of a "roller coaster ride," Mary attributed much of the unsettled upbringing to her "dysfunctional family" and to the climate of the rural town in which she was raised.

Both her parents and subsequent step-parents "divorce[d], re-marry[ied], divorce[d], separate[d] enough times" that she felt as though "they were more separated than they were together." Her father, an alcoholic, maintained a "strict household and expected us to wait on him," while her mother's narcotic addictions and attempted suicide forced Mary to also take on the responsibilities for raising her two younger brothers. In her first interview she stated, "I know that I come from a dysfunctional family. I have a

father who was an alcoholic. I have seen some things that I feel made me feel like I grew up very fast. I feel like I became a mom at thirteen."

In addition to a turbulent home, Mary's school life was disrupted by episodes of physical abuse and sexual harassment. Mary described her junior high school experience as:

During junior high I was sexually harassed by my peers...they would touch us in school and private parts [sic], they would grab us and slam us against the lockers and say really nasty and provocative things to us and actually I was the only one that...well, they hit on me and stuff, so I had like pictures taken of me on my arms were bruised and stuff.

Despite restraining orders, the boys continued their harassment. Mary described her senior year as being especially painful:

I was really miserable my senior year, but I had one guy hit me with several books on the top of my head and I was really lucky that it did not really hurt me I have had the sexual harassment, and that went far enough... it was really scary... I've been slammed up against the lockers and had my skirt pulled up, pulled down... pictures drawn... you would walk around the hall and they have your name and you know, pornographic pictures and stuff. So when I was a senior in high school I was in tears every day...he threatened to kill me and stuff...it took two people, two really big guys to get him off...after that, I mean, I've been kicked...after that incident he just terrorized me around the school and stuff.

Mary was determined to "work for the promotion of myself and women and any minority or even anybody who has had to suffer..." She believed that her past gave her the tools and strength to understand the lives of children living in the inner-city. She declared, "it is kind of incredible, I kind of absorb everything now. Actually, I think it made me a stronger person." Mary felt that her interactions with the pupils were really unique and

that her own difficult childhood helped her create a special relationship with them. She indicated that

...some of these kids bond with me. It is really weird, cause they don't bond with everybody....Somehow they can sense that I have had pain in my life too. I don't know how, but maybe it is how I respond to them...maybe in the way I respond to their needs...We understand each other.

The internship year had a profound affect on Mary's perspective toward teaching and life in general. During the course of the four interviews, several topics and themes emerged related to her experiences. Conflict with the environment, with self, and with others were all predominant themes experienced by Mary (Figure 4). These conflicts were unique and separate from each other and yet tended to weave in and out of each other. Specific conflicts that significantly affected Mary's internship were: (a) her growth in understanding the life experiences that children in the inner-city encountered, (b) establishing a balance and control between her desire to remain a friend to her pupils and becoming their respected teacher, which led to (c) conflict in her perceived role to become a disciplinarian and set boundaries between herself and the pupils; and finally (d) her conflict with the program at the university. Throughout all of her experiences she maintained a firm belief that she had been "called" to become a teacher.

MARY'S CULTUREPUPIL'S CULTURE

Mary is a twenty-two year old single white woman, who asserts the following about herself:

"... Okay, I'm a pretty liberal minded person. I have a strong spiritual self...

...Most people know me as a feminist, not a radical...

...I want everything to be fair...I want everyone to have an equal chance at everything...

...I am drawn to empathy. I am drawn to the needs of the people.

...work for the promotion of myself and women and any minority, or even anyone who has had to suffer

...My parents are divorced, I have two real siblings and a half brother.

...My father is an alcoholic and my mother was a narcotic abuser

...I have been sexually harassed...I've been slammed up against the lockers and had my skirt pulled up, pulled down, pictures drawn...

...I come from a small town... it was recently in the news about a judge that sexually harassed women...

...I was hit over the head with the books... he threatened to kill me. I am a Christian..."

"...My teacher said that almost every child in the school has either seen someone slain or in the process of being slain...

...They sleep in bath tubs...He has been sexually abused. His mother is a prostitute.

...His mother's street. Her name is Cocaine. She is known for stealing drugs...

...she was raped in kindergarten...her mother is a drug addict and is in jail

...but in the projects they are allowed to run free and they see crime and violence and they have told me about seeing women laying naked on the ground and asking me to pray for them because this person is laying on the ground naked and say that people come by and rape them all the time and they are drug addicts and see they know about the drugs and gangs...

...There is an "S" that they always draw. I thought it just looked like a bubble letter. It is the symbol of death and it is on many of the things that they draw...

...There is always fighting, there is suspension, all that kind of stuff...

...Nothing in college prepares you for this...

...That is a drive by drill in case we actually have a shooting and you go in a position...

...This is a different world."

Figure 4. Contrast of Mary's culture and her perception of the student's and school culture.

Conflict with the Environment

During the first interview, Mary initially expressed confidence in her ability to tackle the internship believing that the two and a half years working at a day-care center had amply prepared her for the upcoming semester: "I worked in daycare for two and a half years, I kind of know what works and what doesn't work, I mean kids are kids, and somethings work and somethings don't." She later suggested that she "had a lot of confidence with children. It's like I'm secure with the child because they're naive, they're innocent, and I have a lot of trust and a lot of confidence with them." With respect to her university preparation, Mary also expressed confidence and excitement that she would soon be able to demonstrate her skills. She stated:

As far as being prepared for methods and stuff, yeah, there's a lot of things I learned. You know, I like integration, but as you showed us how to do thematic units, you know, that's a whole new style of teaching that I love, and my teacher, he likes thematic units, so I'm really excited.

Mary's sense of equilibrium was greatly upset as the year progressed and the "realities" and responsibilities of teaching in the inner-city became clearer. Her opening statement during the second interview summarized her shock and disbelief about the lives of her students in the inner-city. Indeed, most of the second interview was devoted to an account of thirteen different incidents in the lives of the children and their living environment and how these impacted Mary's perception of inner city life and education. She commented

My teacher said that almost every child in the school has either seen someone slain or in the process of being slain. They sleep in bathtubs, deal with drugs and sexual abuse.... I was prepared for a lot of this but I didn't

realize that there was that much violence. It is a lot worse than I ever thought it could be.

Later, she described her new understanding of the inner-city and how it had changed her world view, she stated:

People really do get killed. Rape and sexual abuse of children when they are small. I think that a lot of that euphoric world view of mine has been shattered. I think I have been awakened. I don't look at the world the same...even in three months..it has been a real eye opener.

A particularly disturbing story expressed by Mary in both the interview and in one of her written reflections involved Mary and another intern (Julie) taking the students on a field trip. It is interesting to note that both their mentoring teachers had phoned in sick that particular day. During lunch, a fourth grade student came by and pinched Mary on the bottom. In describing this incident, Mary stated:

He has been sexually abused. His mother is a prostitute. His mother's street name is Cocaine. She is known for stealing drugs, prostitution, you know, this child has seen a lot. And he came up and pinched me on the bottom and I didn't know what to do... All I know is he was looking at me and the next thing I know, he runs up, pinches me on the butt and sits back down. My initial reaction was just to laugh because I was shocked.

This particular event reminded Mary of her past of "being the victim of sexual harassment for many years, this is not something I have taken lightly." Mary kept thinking about this incident to try and better understand both the child and her own response. Her first response to being pinched was to feel guilty and to worry whether she "wore her jeans too tightly," then she decided that it was the nine year old's home environment that was to blame. Mr. Rice, Mary's mentor, later reflected to her that "this child's mom was a prostitute. She would have orgy parties and has been seen naked in the community

begging for sex...These kids see so much that they learn so fast." The young boy was suspended from school for several days.

Later stories revealed how the children in her third grade came to class.

"Sometimes they look so angry at the world that they could kill somebody. I mean they walk in and slam their books down on the desk...just filled with rage". Indeed, Mary expressed concern about whether two children might hit her, "One child lashes out at me. He totally defies me. He has no respect for me whatsoever.." Additionally, children talked about and attempted suicide as a normal part of their existence. In Mary's class, two children had threatened to commit suicide. In one of the written reflections Mary wrote, "Jade has a long vertical scar on one wrist and a fresh scab on the other...This child has been in foster care because his mom is a drug addict." The young girl who talked about suicide had recently been threatened by a man living in the projects (the residential area where most of these children lived) who wanted to kill her. Mary claimed that "she was really scared of him. The child's mother is in jail...Dad just got out of jail."

Verbal abuse among Mary's third grade students was another ongoing problem for Mary to cope with. Children accused each others' mothers of using crack, smoking marijuana and being prostitutes. Mary described her students as saying,

Your mom smokes chronic', which is marijuana, 'your mom's a prostitute,' 'your mom's in jail...' Having a child come up to me and say, 'Do you know Edward's mom? Her name is Cocaine, she beat him with an extension cord last night?

During the fourth interview, Mary described a third grader who was suspended for "cussing me out two weeks ago and calling me a fucking whore...After she came back from the suspension she cussed Mr. Rice out. She called him a bitch."

The incidences of sexual, physical, and verbal abuse appear to be a common part of the environment with which Mary has had to deal. Her mentoring teacher had stated at the beginning of the year that "so many of the girls had been sexually abused. There was one child in that class whose name is Addie and she even drew graphic pictures of male parts and even showed what they looked [like] erect." When asked to describe one of her students during the third interview, Mary outlined the life of a third grader who had been raped in kindergarten and whose mother was a drug addict and in jail.

During the fourth interview Mary described the "drive by drill" procedure which the elementary students at her school practice, due to a drive-by shooting, and the subsequent death of a kindergarten girl the previous year. Mary described the procedures as follows: "It is where you actually stop, drop, cover, look, and listen. That is a drive by drill in case we actually have a shooting and you go in a position."

Each of these incidents reflects Mary's difficulty in understanding the children's environment and how this affects the pupils' capacity to learn. During a written reflection, Mary described this dilemma.

Most of the time their minds are elsewhere, maybe focused on the person they saw slain the night before. Maybe they are too tired because they have been kept up by gun shots or they were sexually abused the night before. This doesn't happen to a few, its most of the class. The few are the lucky.

During one of the oral reflections with other interns Mary reached a critical point in dealing with the stress of the environment. She attempted to elicit help from the other interns relating to specifically "what could a teacher do to break the boundaries, with all the violence and stuff [in order to] actually teach all these great things I have learned to do." Unfortunately for Mary, the discussion was perceived as her having a miserable experience and suggestions were made concerning how she could better cope with the situation. Her response to me during the interview was, "It is hard to relate to people who don't see what I see every day. It is really hard because most of the people in our class who give advice don't work in the school that I am working in."

Conflict with Self

Mary's conflict with "self" arose from a desire to be the best teacher that she could be. She stated that she was a "perfectionist" who wished to emulate the "confidence and grace" portrayed by her mentoring teacher, Mr. Rice. During the initial interview she said, "I want to have that grace, and I know it takes experience to get to that, but I just want to have that spontaneity... I want to learn how to do what he does so gracefully." However, her school experiences led her to re-examine the importance of the stern assertiveness she disliked so much. She came to wonder whether her early attempts to win the children's respect through compassion actually caused her more difficulty in the long run. She concluded, by the end of the internship year, that the students needed discipline and did not respect anyone who was lenient.

During the first interview Mary announced her desire to gain "respect" from the children without having to portray the sternness that her mentoring teacher did. She stated, that he was more stern than she was, but hoped that she might "learn a way to have children respect me without having to be so stern." Mary viewed her role with the students as being a compassionate relater who was able to accept and absorb some of the student's pain and thus maintain some of her own childlike qualities. She stated early that she was

struggling with trying to be an adult, and I still have this kid part in me and it's like tug-a-war inside, ya know, like wanting to be an adult and still being a child, because there's a lot of me that still wants to play with them and not be that adult figure role model type person. And I struggle with that and I hope that my expectation is that I kind of make that transition from that childlike person in me to become that adult.

Mary was also perceptive enough to realize that she was not behaving in a manner satisfying to the mentoring teacher when she wondered whether she was being too lenient with the children. As Mary noted, "I feel I'm disappointing my teacher sometimes. I get that really uncomfortable feeling that I'm being too lenient." She indicated also that she was not as strict as he was and was in fact, more playful.

I think that's what they like about me, 'cause see I make faces, I wink, that's just, and I don't know if I'm being immature or not, but that's just my first response, ya know, and I don't know, I'm kind of playful.

Mary viewed her role in the classroom as one that enabled her to relate to the pupils in a compassionate manner, she wrote:

She [a child in her class] is very open about her home situation and really seeks empathy. It is really strange how many of these kids have opened up to me. It's almost like they can sense that I have suffered too. It's an amazing bond that I feel honored to share.

During her second interview Mary said, "I have never loved being a teacher so much until this year." She was becoming increasingly aware of the tremendous responsibility that teaching holds. Mary indicated this in a written reflection:

I must say that the past three and a half months have been incredible. I have grown more in this period of time than any other point in my life. The responsibility of teaching is beyond one's belief until they have lived through the experience. Having responsibilities in a child's life, especially one that has not even lived a decade is a remarkable challenge.

Mary was also beginning to realize that she had not gained the desired respect she had anticipated, perhaps due to a failure to establish clear boundaries between herself and her pupils. They still perceive her trying to be their friend. Mary indicated that "I am struggling right now. I feel like those boundaries are being crossed all the time. It is confusing to them and it is confusing to me. And so when I had them that day, I talked sternly to them..." She consciously decided that she needed to establish a "teacher image." Having indicated this need for change, Mary continued to struggle with this conflict of self and role identification.

I have struggled being their friend and their teacher. They do see me more as a friend, someone they trust. Not having the 'real' teacher role has brought me a level closer to them. I hope I never lose the trust, because it is essential to their learning.

However, she also realized that boundaries were essential and that students actually needed them. She commented "they want that structure and boundaries. When they have that, they think you are the authority." Later she clearly described the necessity of establishing the boundaries not so much for her sake, but for the sake of the children:

I have been more structured and more strict. I don't give as many second chances. You are not supposed to give these children lots of chances... maybe just one chance. That may seem harsh, but it is what they need. They need those boundaries because they will walk all over you if you don't set those boundaries. And they are happier. They want discipline. It is like they want you to ...they want discipline. It is like they hunger for it.

And yet, in order to create the needed boundaries she perceived she must maintain a seriousness that was unnatural for her. Mary concluded:

I definitely think I need to be more aggressive and stronger. I guess I have really made myself consciously be more stern. I can be stern and then turn around and laugh because I can't believe... I'm not really mad. It takes so much to make me angry.

By the end of the intern year, after completing six weeks of soloing, Mary achieved her desired "respect" from the pupils. During the fourth interview I asked what advice she had for incoming interns and her immediate response was, "I would tell them, if they were in the inner city, [to] be assertive and really stand your ground and show the kids that you are a teacher." She later described an experience she had had with one of the pupils who continued to view Mary as a "friend" and the problems that were created for the pupil and herself.

It appeared that throughout Mary's internship she had a conflict between her self-identity as a teacher and her self-identity as a compassionate friend. By the end of the year Mary viewed herself as more professionally minded and career oriented. Realizing that the role of a teacher is multifaceted, she stated, "It is amazing how many roles a teacher must take... a teacher is a policeman, the parent, a social worker, and I could go on..." She

concluded an interview with the realization that she has indeed made the transition that she had hoped for earlier.

I am becoming more career oriented. I have grown from a college student to a professional. And not being secure and confident in teaching and now being confident...I have learned more this year than I have in the past four years.

Conflict with Others

For Mary, conflict with others centered on her disillusionment with the university and the program she was in. As stated during the first interview, Mary's attitude toward the university was such that she felt prepared and indeed, inspired, to engage in her internship. However, as time passed and problems arose in her internship she began to express frustration and even anger toward the university in terms of not adequately preparing her for this placement. One particular written reflection described fully her dissatisfaction:

- This week I have a lot of anger that I need to release. I am really upset with the program and it is really frustrating. In the past couple of weeks, I have been emotionally drained. For as long as I can remember, I have done nothing but dream of helping the poor.
- I am so angry I want to scream. I could not imagine how rough life must be that an eight and a nine year old would want to die. I am more angry at myself and the program I'm in because I was not prepared for this.
- Urban Multicultural is a program that emphasizes urban education in its curriculum, but it fails how to tell students how to deal with the realities of these children. Teaching is the easy part, getting through the boundaries of these children is hard! I don't care how great a teacher, you are, you cannot teach until you break through the boundaries.

- Why hasn't the program that focuses on these types of schools ever trained us to deal with these types of problems? Children's books and thematic units are great things to learn about, but how can we use these if we cannot even break the boundary of anger and hate that separates the child from learning? I feel like, what should be the most important part of the program is missing.

Clearly she was disturbed with her lack of preparation. Later, during the third and fourth interviews, her anger continued to surface. She believed that the program should have equipped her with the necessary skills to work with children who were deemed "at risk." She maintained that the university "should have given me something that I didn't get" and her advice to anyone coming into the program was to seek training that specifically helps in dealing with the kinds of children "who are crack babies" and "who have complete fits...and start throwing tantrums." Mary claimed that she could "handle all the ugly things in these children's lives" but "the program needs...to help inner-city teachers progress through these children's baggage to really help them learn." She maintained that the university did not teach her any "strategies to move beyond the baggage [of the child's life]."

During the final interview, Mary described how the amount of university course work, particularly during the first semester, stressed her and the other interns. She felt she could cope with, maintaining straight A's, however, the constant shuffling back and forth between being a "teacher" and being a "student" prevented her from being "viewed as a teacher" in the eyes of her own students. Each Thursday afternoon and all day Friday Mary left the school and became a student at the university. Mary contended that her pupils realized that she was only a student and not a "real" teacher. She stated:

I felt like I was only here three and a half days a week and I was constantly leaving and coming back and as a teacher...the children didn't really see me as a teacher. They saw me more as a college student who was coming in and out.

Struggling with gaining the necessary level of peace an otherwise already difficult situation, was enhanced by the university course work and scheduling. Mary summarizes her experiences and the relationship between herself and the university as follows, "...nothing in college prepares you for this. Not for the inner city at least.."

Sense of Purpose

During the course of the internship Mary relied on her sense of purpose and "higher self." Generally she maintained a positive attitude throughout the year, albeit wavering several times when faced with the atrocities in the lives of her pupils. In learning to cope with her pupils' experiences, she "learned to deal with it in my own way. I have kind of become desensitized to it." Although she later expressed a fear about this occurring, she realized that it was the only way in which she could continue and not become "paralyzed." She argued, "I was afraid that this was going to happen, but you almost have to. If you don't, you can't live your own life and be sane if you knew exactly what happened all the time."

During her last interview Mary articulated a sense of great satisfaction in finding her purpose. Throughout the year she knew that she wanted to work with children. "I always knew I wanted to work with kids, but I didn't know if it was teaching or social work or child psychology." She had come to know and enjoy the "art and science of teaching." Mary also discussed her sense of purpose as it related to her Christian

upbringing. She revealed how during the year she had "pray[ed] to God that He would give me strength to get through this." Mary concluded her last interview by claiming to "realize that this is my calling... that I was called to do this and not that I am stuck in it. This is what I am supposed to do. This is my calling from God."

CHAPTER 6

JULIE

*I know what...I would rather be on a playground dancing
with 4th graders...than in a teacher's
meeting any day.*

Julie described herself as an optimistic twenty-three year old single white woman who lived most of her life in the same city where she attended university. She was an expressive woman who freely shared the intimate details of her life and personal beliefs. Julie described her upbringing as being "somewhat unstable." Her parents had divorced when she was ten after which her mother moved Julie and her two brothers to another state. Following bankruptcy and a broken engagement, the family moved back to the mother's home town. Then, after living in a trailer park with dwindling finances, Julie and her brothers moved back to live with their father.

Between the age of fourteen to sixteen Julie lived with her father and two brothers. During this time she became a Christian. For Julie, "finding God" comforted her during the disruptions in her home life and saved her from temptation during teenage years. Julie stated, "I see now that God has protected me from all these things [drugs and teenage sex], and I'm very thankful now, and so, um, since then I have had a lot more stability."

When Julie was sixteen her father re-married and life changed again. After living "with my Dad and younger brother in the bachelor's pad in which we stayed up late and hung out," her life incorporated a step brother and sister and a more "Beaver-Cleaver type

of environment." Julie continued to live with her father and stepfamily until she entered university where she now lives with a roommate.

Julie completed her internship at Washington Pike Elementary School along with Mary. She described Washington Pike Elementary as one of the most difficult inner-city schools in the city. Nonetheless, she loved it. From the very first interview it was obvious that Julie's passion in life was to do "the Lord's" work. She was candid about her Christian beliefs stating:

...probably my strongest desire is to be a light in people's lives. You know, if I had the opportunity and if someone wants to hear me talk about the Lord, to talk to them what my hope is, I would. I don't know what I would do without God.

Julie's faith played a major role in helping her to identify with her role as a teacher. By the fourth interview (May), Julie had accepted a job working with an inner-city urban ministry. She had first encountered this particular position the summer prior to her internship and it was one that she had wanted throughout the year. In each of the interviews she indicated her enjoyment of the summer job claiming

I was not used to inner-city kids, I was not used to kids that were sexually abused...ummm...I was not used to all the kicking and screaming, or the poverty, but I LOVED it, I fell in love with it!

For Julie, "dancing and playing with inner-city kids" and bringing them the "ministry of the Lord" was what she had done as a young adult and what she now wanted to do in the classroom. In her third interview she said

I have done a lot of inner city ministry. And that is all I know as an adult and so it definitely would have been different. I went in my first day and wrote my fourth graders this note and said I like to sing and dance. My name is Julie and I am 22 and just told them about myself. And really, the

first day, I was so used to doing inner city ministry, hanging out with kids, getting to know them, jumping rope, that is what I knew, so I went into it that way.

Julie's internship revolved around a series of interrelated conflicts dealing with self, others, and to some extent, the environment (Figure 5). Her greatest conflict was with herself, deciding whether or not she was "called" to be a classroom teacher. This ongoing struggle was heightened by some difficulties she had with others, particularly in relationships with her mentoring teachers. Problems also arose for her centering on the lives of the inner-city children and her perception that she was receiving an inadequate training from the university. All these problems intertwined in her accounts. Nevertheless, I will break the discussion into the three separate areas of conflict: self, others, and with the environment.

Conflict with Self

During the first interview, Julie described a concern she was experiencing in not knowing what it was that she truly wanted to do as far as her career was concerned,

I don't know what the future holds. I don't know if I'm supposed to be a teacher. I mean, hopefully that is what I will do for the next couple of years, but I love what I did in Birmingham. Like inner-city ministry, that would be more my job, not just a job. Anything to do with ministry. Anything to do with helping others.

This conflict surfaced throughout her interviews and throughout her internship. Believing school teaching to be similar to the experiences she had encountered in the urban ministry,

JULIE'S CULTURESCHOOL CULTURE

Julie is a twenty-three year old white woman who believes the following about herself...

...I have an older brother and a younger brother. I had a great family growing up...

...So anyway they got a divorce. It was very hard on us.

...From like ten to fourteen I lived with my mom

So we moved into a one story house where me and my mom were sharing a bedroom, and then in eighth grade moved to a trailer

I grew up Episcopal...I was baptized when I was younger...

I feel like the Lord saved me from sex and all that kind of stuff back then...

When I was fourteen I went and lived with my Dad. ...I'm living in my old, nice two-story house...

...I became a Christian when I was fifteen...

...I'm still a virgin, I've never been drunk...

I feel without the Lord...I would have messed around...

...My strongest desire is to be a light in people's lives...

...I'm very extroverted...

...his mother was found naked, begging for sex..."

...a fourth grader would scream at a teacher, 'Kiss my black ass!'...

...I mean seeing fourth grade girls and knowing that they may be sexually active and finding notes that would blow you away...

...What do you do with a mom who is a prostitute who comes in drunk to meetings...

...Washington Pike Elementary is very inner-city, 99% free lunch, very poor

...What do you do when a kid comes to me and says, 'my brother was killed in a gang last night' I need to know what to do.

...one little girl drew an erect penis with stuff coming out...I found a dirty note that said, 'he is so fine...I love his ass and his big dick...

...these kids' lives are so messed up, because they are at the Boys or Girls club until like 8:00 in the evening. Their parents are just never there...

...Seeing a mom running up and down the halls barefoot with no bra on and with greasy hair and smelling bad is no big deal...

...Kathy had seen her brother kill her cat...

My step-daddy just got out of prison and my mom just went in.

Figure 5. A comparison of Julie's culture and the culture of her pupils.

Julie was constantly confronted with the differences between the two career choices.

The main distinction between the two career choices focused on the degree of spontaneous interaction she perceived as possible with children. Julie's experience of working in the ministry with inner-city children allowed her to show a "more natural, creative, joyful self," whereas at school "dancing and playing with children" was hardly acceptable. (Here a parallel existed between Julie and Mary in that both entered their internships believing that they could gain the respect of the students by first becoming their friends.)

In her second interview Julie expressed frustration at not being able to be as friendly as she would have liked. She stated:

I tried to bring balance into that and I found myself just not having any respect. You know why? Cause in the beginning I was this fun teacher that would dance with them on the playground. Then I had to take more control, and they didn't understand.

By the third interview (mid March), Julie was still struggling with conflict between being a friend to the children and maintaining a professional demeanor. Julie was frustrated at having to control her natural spontaneity with the children and felt limited by her role as a teacher. She stated,

I am silly and I like to be silly and do kid stuff. But I think when I teach especially in the inner city school, I feel like I turn into something I don't want to be because when you do the kid things these children don't see me being a kid and an adult. They can't associate the two. They don't know what that is like. You know...most adults... they are around, scream at them to get them to do things. I am kind of playing around and they just don't understand... and I feel like I have to be totally kid and not discipline or be a hard nose. I feel like I have kinda learned to bring those somewhat in together.

She concluded that,

I don't hate teaching...but I get up and I want to be me... And it is hard to be me because I am supposed to be this certain way, and you have to be hard on them...And, you have to do this and I guess it is frustrating.

By the fourth interview Julie articulated distinctly her progression during the year and her understanding of the relationship between being a friend and behaving professionally. She said:

I started the year out being these children's friend and all I knew was ministry and hanging out with black kids in the projects and I loved it. And I wish I had been told to start out tough. Don't give second chances in the beginning cause they will walk all over you and they did. My fourth grade class for six weeks, I started out lenient and realized it wasn't working and realized I didn't have the respect and realized I would have to take more control and then I got tough.

Julie's worry about having to distance herself from her pupils added to concerns as to whether she should enter teaching as an immediate career. She remained confused and uncertain throughout the year as she pondered her choices. Toward the end of the last interview Julie stated:

I am just very confused about what I am supposed to do with my life. I am doing a college ministry for two years and I am excited about that....It is not a life time thing. I know that I have a heart for the poor, and I see myself working best with one on one with kids and that is just why I don't know if teaching is for me.

A little later in the same interview she compared herself to the other interns in her cohort, stressing the differences between their goals and own:

Maybe the difference between me and the other interns is that I went into this with a total ministry mind set rather than a teaching mind set. The reason I chose Washington Pike Elementary is because I knew Washington Pike Elementary kids, I had done two years of inner-city ministry and I

loved it. But as I got into teaching, I was like this is not exactly what I was looking for. Some of the teaching the last three weeks, I have enjoyed.

Julie's experience during the internship year was probably not an enjoyable experience. She commented frequently on the difficulties she encountered and told how at one point she had left the classroom and literally got on her hands and knees and prayed to God to help her get through the day. But this was the turning point:

I am going to have respect. And it was the day before that day that I had really had enough. It wasn't like this big breakdown, but it was like my turning point. Went to the bathroom in the teacher's lounge, literally got down on my knees and I was like 'God, I can't do this alone.' And I think that is when my attitude started changing. I had been doing everything on my own... 'I can do this..I can do this. I can be a good teacher.' Finally, when I got down on my knees and said 'I can't do this, but You can,' is when I felt like I had more of a strength, more of a peace and more of a 'you know I messed up, but I am OK.'

On two previous occasions, once in the autumn and once in the spring, Julie had thought seriously about quitting. However, when she realized how much money and effort she had already invested in the program she decided to persevere. Julie described her frustration that the program failed to provide some of the extra structure she needed:

I feel like I have no structure. I have felt like that through this entire intern process. I am not telling you this to complain, but I am trying to tell you my situation. I have tried to have a good attitude and I can do this. I am also now to the point where I have spent all this money and I am not saying that, if I had had this great mentor teacher, I would want to teach so much, but I mean I struggle so much now with wanting to teach. I don't know if that is because my internship has been so hard or if I am not supposed to be a teacher. Do you know what I mean?

What were the conflicts that had arisen within her making her question her ability to teach? The answer lay in the conflict Julie had with others, specifically with her two mentoring teachers. These profoundly affected her attitude toward teaching.

Conflict with Others

Most of Julie's writings and discussion revolved around her mentoring teachers and the other staff at Washington Pike Public School. Initially, Julie revealed that she had been given a choice between Mr. Rice, who was Mary's mentoring teacher, and Mrs. Sanders. She reported that initially she had preferred Mrs. Sanders to Mr. Rice. She stated, "I did not want him on purpose, because you know, I wanted someone who is very different than what I'm like. I really do, I think she respects me and I'm real honest with her..." Unfortunately, she soon realized that she had made a poor decision by choosing Ms. Sanders. Alluding to the differences between them, she said:

I struggle with my teacher. I want to learn strengths from her, but I don't want to learn her weaknesses, and I'm scared that I would learn her weaknesses and learn her discipline style and end up doing that and I want to end up being my own self.

Julie wrote a story regarding the attitude of her mentoring teacher and why one of her first graders appeared to be depressed. Julie claimed,

Chris looked up and saw the dreaded stare of Mrs. Sanders. He knew her wrath was on him, and there was no escaping it. 'Have you done your chalk plate!', Mrs. Sanders said very sternly. 'No,' Chris replied. 'Why not young man? You know the routine. This is the twelfth day of school. What is wrong with you? Did you hear me? Hello (she knocks on his head), is anyone in there?'

Julie felt that the teacher in her first rotation lacked compassion. When relating another story about a first grader whose cat had been killed by an older brother the night before, Julie wrote, "As she walked into class today, struggling with Blacky's death, she was showed no compassion. Mrs. Sanders just saw Kari's sluggishness as disobedience, 'Why are you so slow today Kari? Get on the ball!'"

These examples of her mentor's stern attitude took place within the first few weeks of school which Julie attributed to her mentor's overly strong need to control. Julie described how the teacher interacted with her in front of the pupils. She stated, "I do feel like she treats me like one of the kids at times like, 'I told you to do that!' or 'Turn the page!' and I'm like, 'What page?'" With respect to Julie's teaching assignments, Mrs. Sanders was explicit in letting her know what her boundaries were. Julie contended, "I think my teacher is going to struggle in giving me control, definitely. Like even now she told me that reading groups are where she has the most control. She said, 'that is the last thing you can have!'" During the third interview, after Julie has changed classrooms, she described this former mentor teacher.

The teacher was mean and hateful, a real drill sergeant...I feel like she was a dictator...Didn't give me any control. Would yell at me in front of the boss [the principal]. She could be nice but she had such a control thing that we didn't go well together. I was in a situation where I was grabbing at anyone. Give me anyone else, please.

Julie was in fact ambivalent about her first placement. Although Julie desired a more sensitive and nurturing teacher, she was nonetheless able to accept her situation

because she believed it was "purposed" for her to be in the room for the children's sake.

She hoped that she would not be a threat to Mrs. Sanders. Julie stated:

There are times that I wish I was with a teacher that was so much more caring and so much compassionate. Then again, like, it's like this year is my mission. Like, I can really be used in this classroom, to really just bring more joy. It's obvious. Not that the kids like me more, but they hug on me more, they want to be with me more because I am smiling at them and I am...I pray that Mrs. Sanders would not resent me because of that.

Her next mentor proved to be at the other extreme. Commenting on the difference between the two teachers, Julie announced, "When I think of all the teachers in the school who I could have gone with who are total extremes, and I got them." Julie moved from first grade to the "fourth grade class that is probably the worst class in the school" and encountered a very different teaching style. On the surface, it appeared that the fourth grade teacher was, in Julie's eyes, a better fit. She described Ms. Mallory as being "the teacher next door...we have a lot of the same morals, seems like we have a lot in common. She is a Christian..." Later, Julie described the differences between the two teachers as, "my first teacher was so hard on them, and I didn't want to be like that and the second teacher was so lenient on them and I didn't want to be like that, I want some kind of consistency."

After the discussion went a little deeper, however, Julie expressed her dismay with the internship with respect to not learning how to effectively manage either the students or teach the curriculum. Although Julie liked her new mentoring teacher, she did not view the teacher as a good role model because she was very traditional in teaching style. Julie claimed that "everything she does is straight from the book. It makes me sad because the

kids get bored and they don't want to learn." After describing a lesson in which Julie taught nouns through a procedure referred to as webbing, she declared that "Mrs. Mallory has NEVER done a project like that before!" Julie further related her frustration with the teacher's skills when she declared:

She does skills and I do comprehension in reading groups and it is hard. Today was hard because she was like, 'Do the comprehension sheet with them' and I was like, 'O.K.' So they come over and we go over it and then they do it. IT IS LAME! Because she wants me to go over the sheet and they basically memorize it. Then they get 100%. How do they learn anything? But you know...I am under her..and it is what she has done forever...

Julie expressed conflict with the fourth grade teacher because of the teacher's lack of organization and that her flexibility did not give Julie sufficient boundaries within which to work. At first, this seemed positive because Julie was being given full reign in what she could do. Julie described Mrs. Mallory as "letting me do what I wanted to do." Julie perceived her mentoring teacher's lack of organization as partly due to the fact that, "Mrs. Mallory had been a fourth grade teacher for just one year...and never had done a project with fourth graders, didn't really read aloud much, didn't do journals."

Julie indicated that she started to implement a variety of new activities in the classroom, "...I started journals, started reading aloud, started projects, and did... like... spelling basketball..." However, as time passed Julie would ask, "Mrs. Mallory, what is your plan for this afternoon. I have this language arts project planned and I was curious... and she would say, 'We will just wing it for today...'" Although Julie appreciated the value of being flexible, she felt disconcerted that Mrs. Mallory never seemed to have anything

planned, claiming "She just didn't even know what we were doing the next day. There was never a plan. I think it is great to be flexible and have a place for structure, but they need to go together." Julie basically discovered for herself what worked and what did not work.

The lack of organization was aggravated by having to deal with the serious behavior problems in this fourth grade class. In terms of classroom management, Julie expressed dismay with her mentoring teacher's attitude regarding the way in which she addressed her students. Recognizing that this "fourth grade class is probably the worst class in the school...and the attitudes are REAL bad," Julie had hoped to discover some classroom management techniques to help her deal with the disruptive behaviors. Julie concluded that the main method employed by this teacher to handle behavior problems was to send the offending pupil to the office. She stated:

We have the most discipline problems in the school, because Ms. Mallory just won't handle a situation on her own. She is like, 'I am sick of you, go to the office.' You know... 'I am angry, go to the office.' Not like, 'Let's go talk about it.' And so a few times she would say to a child, you know, like one little boy, I told him to go throw a paper wad away. So then, he threw it up in the air again.... He shouldn't have done that and I should have said, 'Doug come on, we've talked, do it.' But Ms. Mallory screaming, 'Doug go to the office!' She screamed at him, three or four times...

On several occasions Julie described how she would question her mentoring teacher about the validity of this kind of discipline. Although at first the teacher seemed receptive to Julie's sincerely asked questions, the teacher later became irritated, causing Julie to become upset and confused. Julie described this interaction as:

I went to her and said "Ms. Moyers, do they really need to go to the office?" And it was really hard for me to do that, but I didn't really believe they needed to be there.... A couple of times she said, maybe you are right and one time she was like, 'NO!' She got angry at me. And it was beginning to build tension between us..

Julie related a similar incident in her fourth interview, in which:

Three times I stood up to my teacher. The times that she told a child to go to the office and screamed at them and I would say 'Do you really think that is right?' It was hard, but I felt like I had to. And in this situation I felt like I had to. I just said, 'Ms. Moyers I would be willing to get him some worksheets and things he could do for the next couple of weeks.' She really snapped at me and said, 'That is not the point, Julie!' I could tell she was like, 'Don't mess with me.' It was like she didn't care about this child. She only cared about how she looked and how she had control. When she felt like she did not have the control, she was not willing to work with the child. I am not the type of person who gives up on a child. I know this is my first year, and maybe if you asked me in twenty years I might say it is so hard.

At this stage of the internship Julie began to question whether she should continue in the program and become a teacher. Julie believed that on the one hand she had to "empower her mentor [to] have this good relationship when she didn't agree with anything she [Ms. Mallory] did." On the other hand, she herself was not receiving much in the way of affirmation (except from the teacher's aid). Julie stated:

It was just so hard because my teacher snapped at me. I had to leave. I was like, 'okay. I have to go to the bathroom. I will be right back.' And I was like, 'Lord, please help me with this woman, because I was just very angry.' Came back and she had talked to the assistant who was always on my side, and then she apologized. That was one situation where I definitely saw a teacher saying I do not care.

Julie's internship was shaped by her experiences and perceptions of the mentoring teachers. She felt disillusioned by the way some of the teachers verbally abused their

pupils. Julie stated that "has been one of the hardest things, just seeing teachers be one way in the teachers' lounge and scream at a child and be at the point where they are almost degrading that child and just knowing you can't change things."

Another important part of Julie's internship was discovering and understanding the various perspectives that exist in an inner-city school. Many of her written reflections focused on the children's perspective of what they felt and why they felt it and how the teachers perceived the children. Often the various perspectives would be incompatible. For example, Julie wrote the following semi-fictional reflection:

Hi my name is Tina and I am nine years old. I live with my mom and step-daddy and three brothers and sisters. I had a brother that died, but I don't think about him anymore. My sister died when she was a baby. One day, I can't wait to go to heaven. Maybe I will get to see my real daddy again. He got shot when I was four. My step daddy just got out of prison and my mom just went in. I don't see how they ever have time to get together, if one of them is in jail all of the time. I live in Washington Pike Elementary Homes and am in Ms. Mallory's forth grade class. They say I have an attitude.

Hi, my name is Duane and I am nine years old. I live with my mom in Washington Pike Elementary Homes. She drinks every night, but I am used to it. Last night she got drunk again, and came home with a man that I had never seen before. She gets drunk a lot. Somebody told me that she is addicted to alcohol and can't get off of it. She falls down a lot and tells me to go to my room. I am in Ms. Mallory's fourth grade class. They also say that I can have an attitude too. I get in trouble a lot.

Hi my name is Eric and I am nine years old. I am a mixed kid from Washington Pike Elementary Home. My mama is white and my daddy is black. I never get to see my daddy too much, but my mamma does have men over all the time. Today I found out how my mom gets money beside what we get from welfare. When men come to our house, almost every night, they go to her bedroom. Then once I saw one of them give her money. Someone told me my mamma was a prostitute. I called them a liar and hit them. Men yell at my mama and always have their hands on her. It makes me mad, but she doesn't stop them. People tell me my mama is a

Whore, but I love her very much. I wish she wouldn't let men be mean to her. I am in Ms. Mallory's class in fourth grade. I recently got suspended for three days for pinching Ms. Mary (an intern at Washington Pike Elementary) on the butt. I saw my mama's friend do it to her, so I thought it was okay. I also get in trouble a lot.

In each of the above cases a child's life is described as though the child was telling the story. Julie had captured both the child's voice and the impact the environment had played. The punch line, "I also get in trouble a lot" is indicative of the teacher's seeming lack of insight and understanding of the child's life. Julie's wish to "save these children" ran deep and she could not understand why her mentoring teacher and other teachers were not as equally compassionate.

During Julie's fourth and final interview she concluded that teaching was not what she had hoped for and that reaching these children meant connecting with them on a different level. She stated:

Well, I would not say that I have enjoyed this year. I would say that I have grown a lot. And I can't tell you that I want to teach, I don't think I do. I love getting to know the kids. I think I have realized that I do not want to teach. I mean I have a heart for the Lord. Not that in teaching you can't have a heart for the Lord, but I long for it. I feel like the problem with these children is deeper than reading, writing. I think school is very important. If nothing else from this year, I will have a lot more respect for my teachers if I have children one day. But to me that is the only answer...God changing lives.

Conflict with the Environment

Both Julie and Mary, having spent their year long internship at the same school, shared similar confrontations with the realities of the inner-city environments that impacted both their lives (Figure 6). The previous written reflection was typical of Julie's

writings. She described incidents of children's lives such as when the child's cat had been killed by her older brother, or when a fourth grader screamed at the teacher, "Kiss My Black Ass!" Particularly during her first semester, but also throughout the year, these graphic images of the community influenced Julie's perception of the interplay between the children's home environments and their behavior at school.

During a discussion related to Julie's (and Mary's) findings relative to a project they did on gangs, Julie reflected on how much she had to struggle with the difficulties she had experienced in her intern year. She commented:

I mean seeing fourth grade girls and knowing that they may be sexually active and finding notes that would just blow you away and hearing stories. I mean I am from a broken home and I have had a lot, I mean dealt a lot with that and went through a period where my mom declared bankruptcy and stuff like that so I have hard years in my life. But in my adult years this has been one of the hardest years, because I had all these expectations of this is where I am gonna be and I'm not there.

In her last reflection, written during the first week of December, she alluded to the difficulty she was experiencing in coping with inner-city issues. Julie wrote:

The main thing that I learned this year, is that it is so hard to teach in an inner-city school. We have learned a lot of things in this program, but I have not learned how to practically deal with at-risk students and inner-city youth. I am learning more to do this everyday, but so many times I feel very incapable and much like a baby. I don't feel very equipped.

She concluded that she had "learned more about poverty stricken environments and poor children than I've ever known before." All she could think of to do at this point was to "cry a lot and pray a lot" because nothing else seemed to work. Even though she desired to "take my kids home with me everyday" she seriously questioned her ability to teach,

stating "I definitely have had more doubts this year than I ever had about teaching and about working with inner-city youth."

During her very last interview, Julie made a more specific assessment of what was missing in her university courses. Having just finished her Action Research project on Lee Cantor's Assertive Discipline, Julie expressed her annoyance with the university for not having trained her sufficiently in techniques of classroom discipline. She stated that "pretty much all the inner city interns that I have talked to felt that [the university] did not prepare us whatsoever about working in the inner-city schools"

Julie went so far as to say that the brochure for the Multicultural Studies Unit was misleading as it had indicated that one of its "goals is to teach future teachers to educate in low socio-economic areas and with poverty children." However, as Julie pointed out, "one of the biggest things we will have to deal with is behavior management and behavior problems and classroom management, and we didn't have one class on that and I don't understand that." Instead, Julie felt that what she was taught was a "bunch of theories" and "cute ideas" that did not apply to any of the following typical school events:

All they know is 'if you mess with me I will hit you.' I saw the other day, a first grader, and someone barely brushed against her and she turned around and started beating the girl up. That is all they know. If someone hits you, you hit them. If someone goes off on you, you go off too. If someone says something about your momma, you say something about hers. It is not any kind of community.

or,

...what do you do with a mom who is a prostitute who comes in drunk to meetings, or a mother dressed in her pajamas to an M-team meeting? What do you do with a child who will continually not do their work and every time someone even brushes them, they go off on them, but yet you know that their daddy is a drug dealer and they probably only get two hours of sleep a night.

Toward the end of the last interview, Julie reported that she had not felt properly "taken care of" during the intern year. Her supervising teacher had dropped by once or twice during the year in a superficial manner, indicating to her that everything was going very well. The supervisor had not taken the time to ask her what was really going on from her point of view. She stated, "There are times when I may say I really need to talk...My advice in the future would be just to watch out for the intern and really be there for them."

CHAPTER 7

MIA

Belonging, becoming, being....

Mia was an ambitious 22-year-old African-American woman who had been raised mainly by her mother and her maternal grandparents. She had a younger brother who had recently graduated from high school and of whom she was very fond. Mia felt she was fortunate to have been raised by both parents for the first eight years of her life (in Maryland), and later by her extended family (in Tennessee). She stated: "I have had the experience of living with the immediate family and the experience of living with an extended family. So I guess I can say that I have experienced both situations. I enjoy[ed] both of them."

Mia's parents divorced when she was eight at which time she moved to to a large Southern city. Attending Catholic private schools for the first seven years, she later transferred to the public school system. She considered this transfer to be to the inner-city. However, her school "had college prep classes" and was not at all like the inner-city schools in which she later completed her internship. Mia stated, "I have never gone to a school like Carter Elementary or Washington Pike Elementary."

Mia discussed growing up as an African-American woman. Mia suggested "being a child you don't even think about being black and being female." However, now as a career oriented woman, Mia expressed pride in her heritage and what she hoped to achieve. She stated:

Now I can really reflect on that because I am like a double minority, being black and being a woman. I love being a black woman, but people don't think you will make it in life because you are a minority. And then when I tell them that I have a degree and I am working on another one, their eyes get big and they really praise you and look at you in a different aspect. They believe that you are really doing something. They are proud of you. I have enjoyed it, especially since I am succeeding and getting my education and trying to have a career, so I have enjoyed the praise and I enjoy giving a good name to black women.

Her grandmother had been the first to notice Mia's abilities with children and to suggest that she become a teacher. She indicated that she was excited about the prospect of becoming a teacher and that she hoped to become a good role model for black children. Upon entering college her goal was to teach African-American children in the inner-city. Mia stated, "Most inner city schools are filled with black kids. I was like, 'I wanted to be in a school that has a black majority.' I don't think I ever want to teach in a suburban school."

Later Mia indicated her sense of purpose in teaching, "I want to see someone black who is doing well for themselves and to provide them with some structure and to be a role model for them." She also distinguished between being a successful black role model and avoiding an Afro-centric curriculum. "I am not with the Afro-centric curriculum, but I do want black kids to see black teachers and to see that black people can succeed." Mia's ultimate goal is to become a guidance counselor.

Mia described herself as being patient, somewhat shy, and yet open minded. She stated that she was uncomfortable around people who were "not willing to listen and who won't give you a chance to speak...I hate to be around people who are not open-minded."

She also maintained that it was sometimes difficult for her to step outside herself. Mia indicated that her preference was to be in a job that did not require doing the same thing day in and day out. She said, "I do not want a job where I have to do the same old thing every day, 'cause I would hate that job."

Mia also stated that she enjoyed being around children, but did not enjoy disciplining them. These last reflections were enlightening with respect to what coped with during the year. One of her greatest challenges was learning how to deal with the "two most aggressive kids in the school." Additionally, Mia was forced to "step outside herself" continually, and become comfortable in a highly structured, routine environment. Each of Mia's concerns and fears stated here foreshadowed events to come in Mia's personal and professional life.

Mia's experiences at Carter Elementary School centered on three broad domains: (a) her relationship with her mentoring teacher, which vacillated between admiration and disappointment; (b) her relationship with her students, which primarily focused on gaining their respect and controlling their behavior; and (c) a sense of her own identity.

Throughout each of these topics, discipline was a common theme. Mia's experiences during the year revolved around the more global idea of discipline. This manifested itself in three delicately interwoven sub-categories. Mia's cultural background and her perception of the school and the pupils environments (Figure 6) caused her to re-evaluate her methods of discipline.

MIA'S CULTURE

Mia is a twenty-two year old single African-American who asserts the following about herself...

"...I have a younger brother and I love dogs and I love leisure reading...

...I hate to be around people who are not open-minded. People who are not willing to listen and who won't give you a chance to speak..

...I went to some of the best schools in....

...I grew up with my grandmother and grandfather...

...I always got E's in conduct and citizenship and I was a good child. I got my share of whippings, but over all, I was a good child.

...My parents got divorced...

...being a child you don't even think about being black and being female and now I can really reflect on that because I am like a double minority...

...I went to Catholic school until seventh grade and that was the first time I went to public schools...

...I want black kids to see black teachers. I am not with the Afro-centric curriculum, but I do want black kids to see black teachers and to see that black people can succeed.

SCHOOL CULTURE

"...I just [have] to come to terms with the facts that some kids are in regular classrooms and have learning disorders...

...Jake...could be either a very lovable child or a nightmare...

...Angrily, he gets back into his seat. This one incident between he and Ms. Silvers upset him for the rest of the morning...

...His mother is on drugs and cannot take care of him and his other siblings..

...[Jake] has no adult authority...

...I mean she was yelling at him so loud that the entire fourth grade was good for the entire morning...

I think it helps because black kids tend to listen to other black adults. Not saying that they really respect me, but it is easier to talk to them cause maybe they think you know what they have been through. You know a lot of slang that they know so you can really talk to them...

...Jillian had to break up a fight in the cafeteria. There were a lot of teachers who stood and watched her haul off this child as he was trying to hit a teacher and still fight another child that he was fighting.

I would hear about some of my kids being sexually molested and their families being very poor..."

Figure 6. Mia's cultural background and her perception of the culture at Carter Elementary.

Mentoring Teachers

Mia had two distinct experiences involving two different mentoring teachers. The first and most influential was a fourth grade teacher, Ms. Silver, who had been teaching inner-city children for over eighteen years. Ms. Silver was Mia's primary mentoring teacher. However, after the first six weeks, and for a period of six weeks, Mia rotated into a 2nd grade class with Ms. Wales. These two experiences were quite different from each other and each had a different impact. Mia contrasted the two styles of teaching several times throughout the interviews. It was the influence of Ms. Silvers that appeared to have had the greatest impact.

Being a Friend...Gaining Respect.

Mia was asked during her first interview, "What do you anticipate this year to look like?" Her immediate response identified a common yet shifting theme that prevailed throughout the internship. During this first interview, Mia appeared caught between what she valued, what her mentoring teachers valued, and what she perceived her pupils valued.

Mia began by stating that she believed the upcoming year was going to be "good," although not necessarily as she had originally expected it would be. These anticipated changes revolved around the nature of Ms. Silvers, whom Mia claimed she liked, even though other interns viewed her as "mean." Mia stated, "I don't think it will be like I expected it to be, because I have a teacher who is... very well disciplined and she is stern. And some of the teachers think she is mean."

Mia's initial desire was to become friends with the pupils, stating that "I mean I am just laughing and talking to them and I thought this year I would be really friendly with the kids and laughing and smiling with them all the time." However, Mia altered this idea when Ms. Silver explained, "you need to establish something with the kids and let them know that you are the teacher and they are the students. You have to stand your ground and gain their respect." In a group reflection, Mia discussed how Ms. Silvers believed that the first several weeks of school should be focused upon developing a relationship with the class, Mia stated:

Like I said, she told me you have to start out tough. Later on you can be their friend, but you have to go in and show who is the boss and I really didn't believe that. But, after a while...I really don't see another way... She told me at first, "you need to come in and discipline them at first and then you can let up" . She said " you can't come in and be their friend or they will walk all over you" and I guess I kind of believe that. I feel like I need to let them know that I am the boss or the teacher, and I know that we were not taught that in the program, but I think that you do have to show them that you are the teacher and they are the student. I went in there with a whole different attitude. I didn't think I would be like that, but...

Ms. Silvers also suggested, "You do not have to love kids to teach fourth grade. You just have to like kids and care about their work, but you do not have to love them." Mia's initial response to her mentoring teacher's philosophy was, "At first, I was like, 'she is mean.'" Mia struggled to hold onto her own belief:

At first when she told me, I was like, 'I am not going to pay any attention to this. I will do what feels right.' But after hearing it a couple of times, then I thought maybe I need to be sterner and try not to be buddies with them. I am just going to see how it turns out.

However, Mia also recognized that Ms Silvers had taught for eighteen years and was the one in charge. Mia accepted the need to change her own perspective, and she alluded to these changes when she claimed:

I am going a whole different avenue than I was. I think that will change things. I am already trying to change my attitude with the kids and I am trying to be stern with them and let them know where I am coming from, and just try to hold my ground. At first I did not think I would be like that, but I am a little meaner than I anticipated because I don't think she is going to have it with me being laughing and happy.

Mia was caught in a dilemma. She wanted her children to view her as "a nice person who demanded their respect and was being open minded and flexible," believing that the inner-city pupils have a "right to make choices as it will make them feel good about themselves," and realizing that she is going to be required to become stern and disciplined. Mia stated that:

I want them to see me as being fair and definitely as being consistent. I want them to see me as stern. I want them to see me in a sense, as being a friend. I guess it is a level that I am at now. If they have problems they need to talk about, I do want them to see me like that.

Mia's own views on discipline seemed incompatible with those of her mentoring teacher's. Mia stated that Ms. Silvers emphatically told her that she, Ms. Silvers, was not flexible about discipline and her view that "inner-city kids do not need the freedom to make those choices." Also complicating the cross-currents between her and her mentor, Mia noticed that "when the kids need to go to the bathroom or whatever, they will raise their hands and ask me all the time." Mia was not sure whether the students were "afraid of Ms. Silvers or they think I will say yes...and a lot of times if they have something to say,

they will come to me and say it." Regardless, Mia decided that, eventually, "I am going to be myself."

Firm Discipline...

Discipline was clearly an important issue for Mia's mentoring teacher. According to Mia, the other teachers considered her to be so "firm, consistent, highly authoritarian" as to border on being "mean." Mia described the situation during one of her oral reflection sessions,

They sit at their desks and my teacher says only one person on the floor at a time. And it is like, when she steps out of the room, it doesn't bother me for two or three of them to be up, as long as they are not doing anything really ridiculous. I know they get tired of sitting at their desks, but if she comes in the room and sees all these kids on the floor it is like she thinks I don't have control over the class. Even if she is in there and I let a couple of them come to my desk, she will say "How many people are supposed to be on the floor" and she is talking to the students, but I know she thinks it is me. It is a struggle because I don't know what path I should be on. Should I let them get up or should I let them talk or what?

Mia's opinions regarding discipline fluctuated during the internship year. At first she was surprised at the degree of anger in Ms. Silver's voice when disciplining her pupils. Yet Mia recognized that several of the pupils believed sufficiently badly that a firm and authoritative hand was needed. During the third oral reflection with another intern (in mid-September), Mia shared an example of Ms. Silver's discipline procedure. This example also provided insights into Mia's concept of "respect."

Mia: We have one of the worst kids in the school. One day he talked back to the teaching assistant and my teacher took him in the hall and she chewed him out. Melissa can tell you.

Melissa: I felt so sorry for the child. She was so loud that even across the hall, my kids put down their pencils and ran to the door. She was like, screaming at the boy. He was just shaking.

Mia: That is what it took to get this child to respect her as an adult. That is what I struggle with.

Melissa: She told him that if he did not want to be there to learn, he could just go home and sit. She showed him where the door was.

Mia: This child respects my teacher but not me. I tell him not to do something and he stops for about 30 seconds and then starts right back up with it. One day she was out of the room and he was just going crazy. I don't want to yell, but I am trying to yell at this child and he still didn't do what I wanted him to do.

Instructor: Why do you call that 'respect'?

Mia: Because he does not talk back to her. I think that he does not want to be yelled at anymore. But I think he respects her as a teacher, but he is not scared of me. I have not instilled that fear in him and I am trying to think of a way to do it.

After being forced to cope with several disciplinary problems in the class, Mia recognized the value of instituting firm procedures to maintain order. By the third interview (in March), Mia stated: "I really am learning how to work with more aggressive children. I have, like, two very aggressive children in my class. I am watching my mentoring teacher work with them and I am really learning." Mia reflected back to when she wrote and discussed her feelings regarding her mentoring teacher several months previously. At that time she had indicated that she could not understand why her mentoring teacher was so rigid but, by this point, she now endorsed this attitude. She maintained:

I was just thinking about when we would write reflections. Way back when, I used to talk about some things that my mentoring teacher did that I did not like, and now that I have been in the classroom more, I see exactly why she does it...I remember talking about the noise level in the classroom and she always wanted it really quiet in there, and now I see why. 'Cause if you give them an inch, they will take a mile. Like if I let them talk in a whisper a little bit when we have a sub, then they get very loud. I ended up having to make them just be quiet. And the teacher can do more, 'cause you can never get anything done if the kids are up and talking loudly. So now I see why she makes them all sit down and be quiet, because you can't get anything done and they bother you... and you have to be a lot more alert.

Mia appreciated Ms. Silver's attitude of respect for Mia's position in the class. She introduced Mia to the pupils as the "other fourth grade teacher," expressing concern that the fourth grade pupils would learn that Mia was only a student. Mia commented,

She always refers to me as their other teacher. She has never told them that I am an intern. She doesn't even want me to mention to them that I am a student at [the university], because she is like, 'they will lose respect for you and you will have to gain it back if they think you are a student.

Teaching Styles...Contrasting Approaches.

Mia described Ms. Silver's teaching philosophy as requiring pupils to complete all their work before having free play. Indeed, there was no recess until the spring term! Ms. Silvers provided enough worksheets to keep the students permanently busy. Mia indicated that although Ms. Silvers stated that "teachers need to be more creative in preparing a lesson," Mia did not observe Ms. Silvers teach a single lesson. Instead, each day the pupils were required to complete a series of worksheets. Mia reported that "No [Ms. Silvers has not taught a lesson], she just talk[s], giving directions about the

worksheets. I have not even seen that. The kids have been doing busywork. I don't know when they will have teaching in the room. They have a lot to learn."

Two of Mia's earliest written reflections focused on her mentoring teacher's teaching style. She expressed a sense of frustration and boredom. Mia also felt sorry for the pupils in the class as she did not believe that they were learning sufficiently. In fact, Mia commented on how much the test scores were below average in reading achievement.

Ms. Silver's classroom structure also caused Mia to feel frustration. Mia commented

Sometimes I feel sorry for my students because my mentoring teacher is too structured. There is nothing wrong with having structure. As a matter of fact, a structured classroom is good for inner-city kids. But I don't think a teacher should be so structured that the kids do the same thing every day. Every day my class does the same routine: D.O.L [Daily Oral Language], Writing 3x, Spelling 5x, spelling worksheets and textbook page, Math worksheet, English Worksheet...this is done on a regular basis. The kids are getting bored with it too. They complain about having to do so much work and it is not fun.

Mia expressed her own boredom in a later reflection claiming, "I find myself getting bored with my classroom. We do the same thing every day." Mia wondered why her teacher did not do any oral reading or other reading programs promoted by the principal such as D.E.A.R (Drop Everything And Read). She stated, "I don't understand why my teacher does not spend more time on reading activities because that is what these kids are lacking the most." She also expressed concern that perhaps the teacher would not allow her to try some of the things she had been taught to do. Mia worried:

I just wish she would do more things with the students because she is a good teacher and she could be much better if she did a variety of things with them. I am worried that if I do different things while I solo, is she going to dislike them or even me.

Mia's concerns and level of frustration rose as she neared the end of the first six weeks of her first rotation. She described how other teachers had more "creative" looking rooms and desired to explore other possibilities. Mia wrote:

Now, I am beginning to get a little frustrated in this classroom especially when I look at my neighboring classrooms. One teacher in particular has a room that would remind me of yours. She has banners hanging from the ceiling, posters and charts all over the walls, along with other neat little manipulatives. Her room looks great! I am going to observe her class one day because I have just got to see what's going on in that room. In the meantime, I will be doing my six week rotation and I'm going to a class where the teacher is more creative, so I'm looking forward to it. Maybe I can think of some activities for my regular class to do when I get back.

During the second interview, Mia compared the teaching styles of Ms. Silvers with Ms. Wales of the 2nd grade class. With respect to Ms. Silvers, Mia again alluded to the strictness of her discipline:

Well my fourth grade teacher is very strict, very straight to the point. She would raise her voice. Not all the time, but there were occasions when she would raise her voice, not yelling and screaming, but she has an aggressive voice...It was either do it this way or get out!...Well not get out...it was do it this way and that was it.

In contrast, Ms. Wales was "more subtle when she disciplines kids and she uses...rewards and incentives for them to behave....Ms. Wales is more flexible and she went about discipline with a whole different perspective." Mia indicated that she enjoyed learning from Ms. Wales, particularly her positive reward systems. Mia discussed at great length the "success chain" in which students have "the opportunity to earn links...when they walk down the hall or do their work." Mia described how the students are affected by the desire to earn a link in a chain which, when long enough, earns a prize:

We have these three little bracelets that are like neon that we wear on our arm and we start with them on our right arm and if they lose a link we move one to the left hand and they could see that they lost a link and if they were just kinda shaky, we just hold it between our hands and play with it to let them know they are about to lose the link and they are just "Oh, no, no, no," And when we got back to the classroom, depending on if they lost a link or earned even more, we would put them on the success chain.

In discussing further the different teaching styles of her two mentors, Mia stated that she had experienced two extremes. She described Ms. Wales as being less structured and more creative. Ms. Wales' pupils wrote a lot and published books, did arts and crafts and read a great deal. Ms. Wales' class was a "twenty-first century classroom, so she has six or seven computers and she uses a lot of computers and they graph things on the computer." By contrast, as previously indicated, Ms. Silver's curriculum revolved around the completion of worksheets.

Mia indicated that she had hoped to take the best from both classes even though she felt herself leaning strongly toward Ms. Wales' overall philosophy of education. What seemed most salient to Mia regarding her two experiences was the organization that Ms. Silvers offers. Mia stated Ms. Silvers' "classroom is very neat, everything is right where it is supposed to be. She knows where everything is." In contrast, Ms. Wales' room "isn't organized enough for me, I would definitely take Ms. Silvers' organizational skills."

Mia's relationship with her mentors appears to have been a positive experience for her. She was appreciative of the insights she gained from each as well as the praise that both gave her.

Significant Others...The Pupils.

A large portion of Mia's internship focused on her interactions with her pupils. In the following section, her experiences are described with the class as a whole and one pupil in particular.

Some of the Others...

While reflecting upon her experiences regarding the pupils, Mia's entire year was primarily focused on issues of discipline and on one particular boy named Jake. In general, Mia noted the large amount of discipline that her teacher engaged in. "Discipline at Carter Elementary is incredible." She claimed that "people who are not in school don't understand the difference between inner-city schools and suburban schools." First she suggested that the type of behaviors encountered in the inner-city were just very difficult to control. She elaborated on the type of behaviors that she had experienced and that were typical at this school:

Oh, kids cursing each other, cursing teacher out, kicking, hitting, fighting, talking back in class, not sitting down, talking while teachers are talking, constant fights, I mean constant talking back to adults...Kids are talking back to adults like they are both on the same level and kids getting in trouble on the bus. I mean, how do kindergartners and first graders get suspended off a bus for five days? This is the kind of stuff that is happening... They had a little first grader I caught writing "ass" on the school building. Discipline is incredible. I have had kids talk back to me...and I told this little girl yesterday to be quiet and she told me that she did not have to. You can imagine me sitting there trying to argue with a little first grader. Trying to tell her to be quiet...you know...it is incredible. I have never seen kids like this before... I mean we have kids standing up calling people "Mother-fuckers." I mean this stuff just blows me away. I am like, What?

Mia also described the poor living conditions of most of the pupils. Most lived in single parent households in which the 27- to 28-year-old mothers often had four or more children. Mia stated that "a lot of them live with their grandmothers and their mother's aren't staying with them, and a lot of the parents work at maybe fast food restaurants or just minimum wage jobs." She believed that a lot of the kids are "latchkey kids" go home to "nobody or no adult." Mia also maintained that a lot of the kids get themselves ready for school in the morning. Mia reported, "I can see that a lot of my kids dress themselves in the morning because they put on dirty socks, dirty clothes, hair is not combed. I would suppose that their parents are still in bed when they come to school."

Jake...

Mia indicated that she was adapting to her knowledge of the situations in which the children were living and was trying to become more patient with the pupils as a result of this knowledge. One boy in particular, Jake, severely tried her patience. Jake initially challenged her and then taught her the most. Jake, "the boy...excuse me... from hell!"

In an early reference to Jake, Mia wrote,

If I am able to get through to this child, I would definitely see it as a victory. As a matter of fact, that it is my goal for the year. In no way will I be able to teach in inner-city schools if a certain child is running all over me.

In her second written reflection, Mia described Jake as an "at risk" child whose "mother is on drugs and cannot take care of him and his other siblings." Further, Mia noted that he was "disliked by all the teachers and aids [that] he has come into contact with." In short,

Jake was "like a walking nightmare at Carter Elementary School." Apparently, Jake lacked all respect for others, children and adults alike. Mia stated,

He has no respect for adult authority, except for a select few. He does not mind talking back because, according to him, he is going to have the last word or at least have a comment to make behind anything you say.

At this point in her internship year, Mia no longer defined 'respect' by how much the students liked her but rather by the degree to which they would obey her. For Mia, respect was now calculated by the degree of her control over pupils and the degree to which the pupils behaved well for the teachers. She described an early experience with Jake when he had become belligerent with the physical education teacher and Mia had intervened to try to improve the situation.

This incident really showed my strength to discipline the students even though the mentoring teacher was not around. Even the PE teacher thanked me for coming to get Jake. It made me realize that I have to stand my ground with these kids and it's not important if they like me. My job description asks me to teach them not to win their friendship. If we're friends fine, if we're not that's fine too. But I bet they will respect me as an adult and a teacher.

Unfortunately, Mia's confidence in controlling Jake's behavior and gaining his respect was short lived. Jake began to test Mia and she slowly lost faith in her ability to control the situation. Mia also perceived that her mentoring teacher was one of the few on staff who could control Jake. Early in the year after a serious confrontation between Ms. Silvers and Jake had taken place, Ms. Silvers won Jake's respect. The argument took place in the hall when Jake spoke back to the teacher's aide. Mia wrote:

Ms. Silvers gained his respect...by taking him in the hall one morning and telling him off. I mean she was yelling at him so loud that the entire fourth grade was good for the entire morning because of how this child got chewed

out. Ms. Silver told Jake if he could not obey adults then he could pack his bags and leave school right then.

Unfortunately Mia was unable to gain confidence in gaining the respect of this pupil. For the next several months the two of them continued to battle back and forth until finally a major confrontation occurred. Prior to the heated confrontation, Mia noted in an early written reflection that she was confused with her role as an intern in that she did "not know how to control him" and found it strange to be arguing with a child. Mia wrote:

In my opinion, it does not make sense for a grown up to have to sit and argue with a child because the child is way out of place. I am at a point where I do not know what to do. I have tried giving him conduct checks after a fair warning. To my surprise, I have tried yelling at him, I mean going off. But Jake pays me no attention.

Mia elaborated during the third interview how, during the above mentioned confrontation, Mia had asked Jake to step out into the hallway so as to gain a sense of stability as she confronted Jake. She described the incident in which "he and I were both bellowing and the whole class was watching". Mia's mentoring teacher observed the event from a distance allowing Mia to deal with the situation as best she could. Mia stated:

Well, actually Jake and I really fell out one day two or three weeks ago and he and I were both bellowing and the whole class was watching. My mentoring teacher was in there, but she doesn't like to step in there when I am disciplining the kids 'cause she don't want to make it seem like she has the upper hand. So she just let us sit there and let us battle. And I had to end it, I had to get him out of the classroom, 'cause it was kind of embarrassing 'cause of the way he was. We get out in the hall and he was still just very disrespectful. And I don't even remember what he said or what I was saying to him, but I told him that I was going to give him detention. That was the end of the day and he went home.

After several conversations relating to this incident in which Mia felt ashamed and upset at not being better able to control this fourth grade student, Mia learned from her mentoring teacher how to better cope with pupils like him. Ms. Silvers cautioned Mia about making pupils feel "backed up against a wall [as she was] afraid he was going to hit [Mia] because he feels like he has to defend himself." Instead Ms. Silvers advised Mia to go up to Jake and quietly speak to him regarding his behavior, otherwise it "looks like you just don't have control." She also suggested that Mia not confront the "under the breath" comments made by Jake as that will inevitably lead to further confrontations. Rather, she is to turn away from him while he mumbles, and ignore him. In the end, however, Mia decided to just leave Jake alone on certain days. She stated:

He and I had two good days [following the above incident] and everything went fine, but still I struggle with him. And he is the type that, if he is having one of his crazy days, I don't deal with him. I kind of leave him to my mentoring teacher, cause he can just ruin your whole day.

Later in the same interview, Mia indicated that she did not feel successful with Jake and that she "kind of [feels] ashamed cause I really can't deal with him. I have to keep reminding myself that all these other professional teachers in this building can't deal with him."

By the last interview, Mia had become confident with who she was as a teacher as well as with her ability to discipline students like Jake. She reiterated the suggestions that Ms. Silver had given her after she had fought with Jake. Mia proudly proclaimed:

After our argument, my mentoring teacher talked to me after school and she was telling me different ways I should have disciplined him instead of the way I did and those different plans really helped me. And I have been able to develop a rapport with him now that I can discipline him, and almost like she can. You

know sometimes I may have to say things more than once to him, but she does too. Now, I feel like I have the same authority she does. I have even had the gym teacher come up to me and said that Ms. Silvers and me were the only teachers that had been fairly successful with him. I think Ms. Johnson was too. So that has impacted me the most because after that my whole way of disciplining the students has changed.

Soloing

Mia described the progression of teaching the entire class at once and the impact this had on her. Her first experience of going solo was in Ms. Wales' room. One week after moving into the new rotation with second graders, Ms. Wales was absent for the day and left Mia in charge. Unfortunately, the pupils were still unaccustomed to her. They went a little "crazy." About fifteen boys in the room took full advantage of the situation. Mia reported: "I was there a week when my rotation started and she was absent one day and I know that was the worst day of my whole internship..." She later described the children's behavior:

Those kids would not be quiet, they would not sit down, there was stuff all over their desks, all over the floor. I could not get anything done...not anything done, because there was constant talking and yelling and out of their seats. And when we had to walk down the hall, these kids were running down the hall. I mean it was awful... it was awful! They almost had me crying. I promise. That was the one day I almost cried. I was like "Oh my goodness, I just cannot deal with this.

When Mia later returned from the Christmas holidays to her original placement with fourth graders, Ms. Silvers became sick one day leaving Mia in charge for two days. Mia was excited with the "excellent behavior" of the pupils. This built Mia's confidence about soloing and she stated, "I like her a whole lot [Ms. Silvers], but it really built my

confidence so far as soloing, like because at first I was like, 'am I going to be able to solo...am I going to be able to teach this class, how are they going to act?'"

By the time of her last interview, Mia had been soloing for three weeks and felt that she had matured a great deal and was becoming a successful teacher. When asked, "What one thing has made you feel like this year made you a better teacher?" Mia's response was, "I think just really gaining confidence is the most important to me. Just having to teach every day, makes you have confidence. I even have gained more confidence, so much that I get up and teach a lesson and haven't even looked at the lesson."

CHAPTER 8

SHELLY

*...she took all power and authority from me.
It is amazing how one incident
just blew me down...*

Shelly was a single white 22-year-old woman who described herself as being a wealthy-middle class Tennessee family. She said she was fortunate in being the middle child from a "tight" family in which both parents raised her and her two sisters. Her father was a hard worker who owned a construction company and her mother worked for her father. Analyzing her family, Shelly said, "I think it is a very well balanced relationship. Most people that we know probably wouldn't say that, because my mom does do everything for my dad. She cooks, she cleans...My mom is fine with that."

Shelly attended the local county schools, was raised Southern Baptist, and considered herself "very conservative" compared to most of her "liberal" friends and acquaintances. Having been raised "Southern Baptist had a lot to do with how I am so conservative..." she said. Her father too was conservative and expressed a deep concern about Shelly's choice of working in an inner-city school. After visiting Shelly at the Washington Pike Elementary School during her field experience the semester before to the internship, he would not permit her to return. She stated, "I was not allowed to go back!"

As part of a prior university course, Shelly had become involved with the Big Brother/Big Sister organization and befriended a young child living in the housing projects

of the community surrounding Washington Pike Elementary school. It was at this time that she first began considering becoming a teacher. She chose the university because her older sister was attending it.

At the university Shelly felt the Urban Multicultural program was a good fit for her and applied for an interview. It was only after several applications that she was accepted. The first time Shelly was turned down because she did not have enough experience, so she immediately enrolled in a community-based program (Apple Corps) to spend time in an inner-city school once a week. Once again, however, she was denied admission to the program, this time on the grounds that she was "culturally insensitive." Shelly's father was very upset by this and spoke to the head of the unit about it. After another interview Shelly commented, "I see no problem, I don't know where the cultural insensitivity stuff came from."

Shelly completed her internship at Carter Elementary, opting not to go back to Washington Pike Elementary. She had become more conscious of the dangers of working there after several drive-by shootings had occurred including one that had resulted in the death of a kindergarten child. Shelly indicated in her interview that

you really have to go by the housing projects...I mean, right there on the street corners it seems a lot worse.. I never felt scared going into Washington Pike Elementary...until at the end, it really kinda... it seems like it has gotten worst.

Her parents were another reason Shelly gave for being at Carter Elementary...
"Because my parents have seen Washington Pike Elementary." In reference to Carter Elementary, Shelly reported that she "like[d] the magnet program starting at Carter

Elementary and I did my field experience [there] last year. I love the atmosphere at the school. I love the principal, everybody seems to be excited to be there."

Shelly's experience at Carter Elementary revolved around a few key issues. The primary focus centered on gaining control in her interaction with the pupils. Although Shelly's background and personal experiences were different from those that she encountered at Carter Elementary (Figure 7), she persisted and maintained her determination to overcome any problems arising from these differences during her internship.

Impact of Students

As was the case with Mia, Shelly's experiences at Carter Elementary revolved around her relationships with the pupils. The following discussion centered on Barry. Barry was one of several pupils that Shelly spoke of during her interviews. A discussion centered on Barry is followed by Shelly's collective experience with the pupils. Two other topics became salient during Shelly's interviews, one concerning her growth in confidences and the other concerning her evaluations.

Barry

From the first written reflection, Shelly outlined her ambivalence about being able to gain control in the classroom. Disciplinary issues were prevalent throughout the course of Shelly's internship and primarily focused on one or two pupils in her classroom. One child in particular, Barry, proved to be a frustrating challenge. Shelly said that he was "the worst kid in the first grade. I know this to be true because I had him in my field

SHELLY'S CULTURESCHOOL CULTURE

Shelly is twenty-two, a single white woman who makes the following assertions regarding her life...

...I'm from an upper-middle class family...

...I have a very, very close family...

...My dad owns a construction company and my mom works for my father...

...I went to a county school...I was raised Southern Baptist...

...I am very conservative and everyone else is very liberal...

...my parents have been married for thirty years...

...they told me that I was culturally insensitive

...I needed help with split homes, divorced families, and those whose parents are in jail.

I think because I was raised so that my parents were both there and a big part of my life, it was a shock that people weren't. I always knew that before this year, but it was even bigger than what I thought. Because I didn't think it would be as bad as people said it was and it really is that bad"

And the biggest problem with me is when one of the little boy's mom came in and she had been drinking [parent conference night]. And I know his dad just went back to jail, and I was like how can these parents expect him to even be here? She was mad at him for making an 'n' in behavior, or a bad grade in behavior and I was like 'how can you expect him?'...and we expect it of him, too. We had no idea why his behavior had changed so dramatically. I think that was the biggest experience.

I don't like it because I don't want to be like that. I don't want to be the screaming teacher or physically restrain children. I don't know but I think there are things that should be done before you do that. You don't just go to re-training a kid like that.

Figure 7. Shelly's cultural background and her perceptions of the school's culture.

experience class." Both Shelly and her mentoring teacher, Mrs. McIntyre, assured each other that Barry had matured over the summer and that they were going to make a fresh start. However, by the end of the first day, "he started his usual stuff...and we moved him away from the group on the second day of school." Shelly's frustration began to mount as she wrote in her first reflection,

I really do not want to admit this, but I really am beginning to dislike this child. I really thought that I could like every child, but it is so hard to like him. I can handle it when he rolls on the floor, does not mind a word I say, or even runs around the room. But I cannot handle when he disrupts my class or hurts the other children.

Shelly expressed frustration with these feelings, stating "I do not want to dislike him, but I just get so frustrated. I feel really bad that I admitted this to you. I do not want you to think that it is that easy for me to hate this child."

Shelly's negative feelings about Barry (and her concern for him) took up a lot of her thinking during the first semester. Her feelings vacillated between anger and frustration although she also stated that she wanted the best for him. Her mixed feelings were portrayed over the course of the year. At one point Shelly jokingly stated, "I think I'm going to kill him, I really, really do." Later, when she began to develop confidence in herself and her ability to cope with the situation, Shelly stated that, "I really do love Barry...he really is a sweet kid...and I love him to death." At the beginning of the year Shelly described a typical interaction between Barry and herself:

The whole class kinda got rowdy because she left [the mentoring teacher] and usually I can settle everybody down. Well, I settled them all down and they were ready to do it, well he (Barry) was standing on his chair. Well, I ignore that, if he falls and brakes his leg, that's his fault, let him fall. And then we did the daily news and he was O.K. and then we started going to the calendar and I

was like, 'Barry go to calendar' and he took his crayon box and just threw it on the ground like that...and he kicks the crayon box over again...

Shelly described (in the group reflection, and in a later written reflection) how the mentoring teacher and she had tried different disciplinary techniques to help Barry. They attempted positive and negative reinforcement such as isolation, time out, and not allowing him to participate in a field trip, to giving him more classroom responsibilities and attention. The following description, described by Shelly during the second oral group reflection outlined her concern about Barry's disruptiveness and the other pupils' frustration with him:

I want to give you all a little update on Barry Brown. He did a lot better this week. After I called his mother... and she was like she worked too much and there was no time we could meet. My teacher was like, 'No, no, no, there has to be a time for us to meet. So we are going to call and have a meeting this week. We tried this new little gizmo. We cut an index card and made six little squares. You all have seen these, and you put a smiley face when they follow the first request. He was so good on Wednesday morning. I have never seen a better child in all my life. He had his little thing filled up. He had like six, and when he got twelve, his mom was supposed to let him watch a video. Right before lunch something happened...he ripped it into little pieces and strung it across the room. We were like, 'Well, we will try it again after lunch.' We gave it to the PE teacher ... and the rest of the afternoon and I don't know what happened. We tried again yesterday, and it did not work. He ran around and put glue on everyone. All over the room. His mom got called out of work yesterday. I don't know what he did, cause I was at a meeting, but there was glue all over the room. He squeezed it all over everyone.... The kids hate Barry...They are like, 'Barry you need to be nice.' We have tried everything. He doesn't know his numbers from his letters in first grade. You try your hardest, but that is what happened in kindergarten last year. We got his referral slips from last year and they were this thick. [indicates - inch stack] He is just so far behind. He is good individually for a while. Yesterday, he sat at the reading table with me to do his seat work, but something happened and...

Shelly believed that Barry's need for attention was what was driving him to misbehave. Barry's father worked two jobs and was not able to spend "quality time" with him. Shelly indicated that his mother deferred punishment of Barry to his father. Shelly commented, "His mother even said that she sent him to his room until his father gets home" and "I always let his father deal with the bad stuff." Barry's father reported only seeing him in the morning prior to Barry going to school. Any discipline, therefore, took place first thing in the morning before Barry set off for school. Shelly thought this might be a contributing factor to Barry's bad behavior at school.

Shelly reported that "the Barry thing came to a head" after "he would leave the room and one of us would have to leave and go after him...[because] he would not do anything." Shelly talked about the incident in another oral reflection as:

I do have something positive to say about Barry. Monday, he was the worst he has been! He left the room in the middle of everything and we didn't even notice he was gone because we were doing our stuff. She looked up and asked where is Barry? She does that all the time, but he had left the room. He came back about an hour later. He was in the hall. I could see him, but we could not get him to come in. When we did get him in, it was awful, so she just took him to the office. It was like a month now and they called his parents at Levi's.

After Barry started leaving his classroom, a meeting was arranged between the parents, the teachers, and the principal. A link between the school and the home was established. Mrs. McIntyre was to contact the mother each night in order to inform her of what had transpired that day. Shelly stated that "Usually she [the teacher] only tells positives because of the fact that his dad was like, 'he will get a spanking tonight. I will wake him up when I get home from work.'" Additionally, they decided to tape record the

father's voice making statements like, "You had better straighten up!" Although Shelly saw some hope in these suggestions, in the main she considered them to be self-defeating. She suggested that, "He is only getting punishment from a man, so he sees us [women] and thinks we are just going to write him off."

Shelly's concern about Barry's behavior also fed into her worries about her own evaluations. She felt that she had "to get some control over him" before the school system sent out their representative to evaluate her. Although Shelly believed that the school principal understood the situation, she was uneasy about the position that would be taken by representatives of Central Office and the university. Shelly's worries on this account turned out to be valid when her difficulty in controlling classes became more obvious after her rotation to kindergarten.

Other Children

Shelly's concerns about Barry were at times overwhelming. For most of the time, however, she managed to keep her struggles with the child in perspective to the rest of her internship. Perhaps if Barry had been the only student to present a problem, the year would have passed smoothly. Unfortunately, numerous problems with other pupils were also present. For instance, Shelly described the attitude of one child who came to class either "quiet as a mouse," suggesting to Shelly that he might be sedated, or "wilder than anything that I have ever seen." This child, Shelly discovered, was a "crack" baby. She remarked how "scary it is to see...two completely different personalities" and how "disruptive" he is on the days "that he cannot control himself."

Shelly's mentoring teacher told her that this was the "boldest class she has had since she started teaching" and apologized to Shelly for not being able to show her what she had been able to show to previous interns. The situation was aggravated as other teachers perceived Shelly's class as being the most difficult one in the school. Mrs. McIntyre and Shelly spent thirty minutes teaching the students how to walk in the halls. Shelly indicated:

Anyone will tell you in that school that we probably have the worst class in the school. They are. I mean today they were awful, so we taught them how to walk down the hall. This is the third six weeks! [third month of school] And I mean everybody in the whole school knows about our class.

Shelly's 'racial' experience with the pupils in her class and Carter Elementary, as revealed in the interviews and transcripts, suggested an understanding of the difficulties that inner-city school children experienced. These were very different from those that Shelly had experienced growing up (Figure 8). These differences centered mainly on: (a) the lack of discipline and lack of respect for others, particularly toward white adults; and (b) the lack of parental involvement in the students' lives. In discussing Barry's behavior, she noted that, when black teachers' aides walked in the classroom, Barry "straightens up and behaves." Shelly also indicated that Jillian's mentoring teacher [an African American woman] had commented to Jillian [an African American intern], who later reflected to Shelly, that "...white teachers...they can't do anything,' she goes, 'because those kids have no respect for them.'" Shelly discussed her sense of being white and not being able to control the student because "racism is taught in both societies..." She felt that "They put

all these teachers in these awkward positions and then you say 'teach these kids,' which are nothing like you and don't give them any training..."

Even during the first interview, Shelly had discussed her confusion about race:

It is kind of like an awkward situation to put yourself in, it really is. Because you don't want them to blame you because you're white and you don't want to say it is because they're black... You know, it can be so much racial tension, and the race should never be brought into it. But they teach it just as much as white people do.

Shelly's action research project was on helping parents become involved with their children's education. This, in part, was reflective of the nature of the student behavior and her concern in trying to understand it. Shelly remarked once during an interview that if she ever spoke to her own parents the way some of these pupils spoke to her or other adults she would have been "beaten". By the end of the internship Shelly had begun to accept the differences between her upbringing and what she experienced in the inner-city:

Shelly: I think they have the best personalities. I love them. All of them. They just have such bold personalities. Like Daniel, when I sent him to the office. He said, 'What did I do? What did I do?' I was like, 'Maybe you need to go outside and think about it,' and he was like, 'Well, maybe I do.' That is just how they are. I am like 'O.K. just snort off.' All of them are like that. There is not a single child in that room that has not smarted off, I don't think.

Stephen: When they say that to you, what happens to you?

Shelly: It just irritates me. I know that they know I get mad. I was just beaten as a child if I said that stuff. It just amazes me, because you know that they have to talk to their parents this way. So, I guess it is just more accepted to smart off that way.

Confidence and Gaining Control

Shelly struggled throughout the year to gain control of the classroom. Disruptive behavior made for a very difficult class. Consequently, Shelly never felt she gained the "power of authority" needed to be a teacher. Looking back, Shelly commented that one of the problems was how the pupils viewed her. She claimed that early in the internship the pupils viewed her as a friend and not as a real teacher. Shelly stated in the first interview, "I think all of them would see me as a friend, not really as a teacher, you know, because I have only taught one lesson, so most of them only see me as a friend."

Shelly's failure to have developed the "teacher air" seriously impeded her further when she moved into her rotation in the second six weeks. In a written reflection, she described how she lacked a sense of "power" over the pupils. Shelly indicated:

I had to stay on them the whole day, if I would turn around or even stop looking at them for a second, they would go crazy. I really believe that my problem is that I really have no power over them. What I mean by this is that I have nothing to take away from them. I am sure if I called a few parents they would start thinking that I had some sort of power.

The rotation itself ended up being viewed positively by Shelly. Nonetheless, its lack of organization and subsequent effect upon returning to her first graders seriously impeded her growth. Shelly discussed her rotation experience during the second interview. Her initial reaction to it was unpleasant. Shelly described the first several weeks of the rotation

I was pissed when I had to do it. I didn't want to do it because it was so unorganized....It was like we got thrown into the classroom and they really weren't sure...like the week before Ms. Claire [curriculum coordinator for the school] had no idea where I was supposed to be going. She was like 'I still haven't talked to the teacher. I think you will be going here but I am not going

to tell you the teacher's name.' So I had no idea and I had no time to get used to it. It was like I showed up on Monday morning and she was like, 'I decided to put you in Ms. Shucker's room.' I was like 'O.K.' and that was on Wednesday. And I was there a half a day and that is the rest of the week. And then the next week she was absent the whole week, cause her grandmother died. And then that started my third week. Before I even got in there really and while she was gone, the sub that was in there, I could not handle staying in there. She was one of those yellers. And so I was like... 'I am gonna go to observe the kindergarten classes while she was there...'

This initial experience impacted Shelly throughout the year as she made several references to it in subsequent interviews. Later she reflected on why the timing of the rotation prevented her from establishing proper respect with the first graders. Shelly commented, "I don't know, I just didn't like my second six weeks...I mean my first graders, have gotten so used to my teacher that they are now like, 'Why are you coming back?'"

Shelly expressed frustration with her lack of control during both rotations. Although she had begun to establish a routine with the pupils prior to her move, Shelly never felt that she had established herself as a "teacher" partly because she had only been able to spend three and a half days a week in the classroom (the other day and a half was spent at the university):

I mean they asked me when I was coming back, but they are like, 'why should we listen to you now?' Because it is so hard just being gone on Thursday and Friday to get their attention, then they drag you out for six weeks and you really can't get back into the ...they were reading when I came back...when I left they didn't even hardly know what a book was, and now they read! Such a big six weeks....especially in first grade....I missed the whole process. I mean I know the readiness, but I missed their first basal lesson. I am sure that was real exciting, but I still missed that...

In the third interview, Shelly commented, "I think it is because at the beginning of the year, I was just like behind her for six weeks and then I was gone for six weeks...and when I came back, it was like, 'who was I?' Then I was trying to teach and they were just like, 'whatever.'" In the final interview, Shelly again came back to the six week rotation, indicating it's impact upon her and how the children do not view her as the teacher. Shelly argued:

See, my problem was that it was the second six weeks and that was when she [Mrs. McIntyre] finally got them calmed down, and the first six weeks it was chaos. She finally got them to a certain point where they got into a routine, and I wasn't there...She said, 'My intern will not leave the second six weeks again'...It is a strange, strange thing. They know that you are not a teacher. But even the kindergartners know that you are not the teacher, I think. They really don't understand what I am, but they know that Mrs. McIntyre is the teacher.

Shelly also referred to another event which had upset her and removed any remaining "power" that Shelly had been able to establish. Several weeks prior to her last interview, Shelly described an incident when her mentoring teacher was absent and the school had requested a substitute teacher. During this time Shelly had been distracted by several family concerns like her sister being about ready to give birth. Consequently, Shelly had not been ready to take the lead role in class. Nonetheless, Shelly did begin the morning routine. Unfortunately for her, she felt that the subsequent interaction with the substitute teacher weakened her position as a lead teacher. Shelly stated:

I just started the morning off as usual and did the same thing we always do, and it was like 9:30 and we were doing the calendar and the woman stops me and she goes 'Excuse me, but it is time to start reading and I am the substitute and I am the one getting paid. I don't know who you are.' My kids were just right there and right in front of me and I am like, 'I am an intern from University and I am here every day and this is what we do. The schedule was left in case I

was not here.' And she was like, 'Well, you could have told me!' and she yelled at me. I know that my face turned as red as anything. I was mad. So I just finished with the calendar and sent them back to their seats.

Reflecting upon this event later, Shelly remarked that she had "lost all control" and the pupils' attitudes had changed toward her. She claimed that

they would not listen. Every time I talked they talked over me. They did not care, because she took all power and authority from me. It is amazing how one incident...It just blew me down. For the next four days it was a struggle.

The remainder of that particular day was, in Shelly's words, "the wildest day yet." She stated, "The room was torn to pieces when I went back in...there were kids standing on chairs, jumping off desks, throwing crayons across the room, and she [the substitute teacher] was just sitting there...There was nothing I could do..."

Growth and Evaluations

Shelly's confidence in her ability to teach was undermined by her inability to control the pupils in her class. To compensate, Shelly and her mentoring teacher agreed to team teach for the entire year instead of having Shelly finish after just one soloing event.

During the second interview, Shelly was asked to "Tell me a little more about the growth you feel is taking place since you started teaching this year." Shelly's immediate response was that she did not think that she had grown very much at all, suggesting rather that people were really just getting to know her for the first time. Shelly described herself as being naturally "intimidating" to others and not really being "laid back" as others had perceived her. She stated,

Just think whatever you want to think because it is not true. I don't let people walk all over me except these kids...I think they do. Sometimes I think, maybe I do let people walk all over me. But I don't think I have grown as much as it seems to appear, because I am just...I don't know, I think you all have just gotten to know me.

She did reflect that perhaps she had matured in that she was now not staying up and out until 2:00 a.m., "I think when the alarm started going off at 6:00 that I got the maturity."

With respect to her teaching abilities, Shelly explained her apprehension about taking charge of a classroom. She stated that "I am not sure that I am ready to be in charge....I do a lesson or two a day or one or two a week. That is fine, but I just think with the course work over that will help." After twelve weeks of internship, Shelly's confidence was not sufficiently developed take over the classroom. She stated:

We plan, but I am like 'how does she know what to do?' I know that you just follow the book most of the time, but I mean that is what I am scared about. Just knowing ...you have the objectives and that kind of stuff, but I am just afraid that I won't get done what I am supposed to do, and I don't want to be in charge....ever. I think I am like the behind the scenes team- teaching thing.

By the time the third interview took place Shelly had experienced three evaluations, one by the university and two by the vice principal. She discussed the impact of those evaluations on her sense of growth. Her first evaluation by the university supervisor was, in Shelly's terms, "just awful." The supervisor had reported that the students were out of control and would not settle down. Shelly felt in conflict between disciplining her pupils in the normal way and not wanting to bring attention to the pupils' bad behavior to her supervisor. Shelly felt as though she had lost control. She said,

that she tried every technique that anybody had ever told me. I lowered my voice, made my voice louder, you know everything. We raised our hands, we clapped, we did everything. We would get quiet and start the activity and then

it would be chaos. I was like, "Oh, God." I made it through the whole thing and then I was like.. I just walked over to him and I said 'just throw it away.' I was just like 'Oh my God.'

In a later reflection Shelly said that her supervisor had come back and told her that she had done a positive job. But he also told her that she had been given the very toughest class. This observation by her supervisor had a strong emotional impact on Shelly because it revealed that the disruptions in her class were well known. She said, "I think that is what broke me." The thought that her inability to maintain discipline was now an established fact seriously bothered Shelly. She described her feelings,

but the fact that it was right in front of everyone's face...it was written on paper..and that was just it for me. If I was going to quit anytime during the year, that would have been it, because I just didn't know how to handle it and then Dr. Jones comes back and he has great things to say, but I am like, 'What should I do?' And he is like, 'I have no idea.' Nobody knows what to do. There is nothing you can say if your kids are idiots. What do you say to that person? During the evaluation, I kept looking back there and you could see that he was just like in shock that anyone could have a six year old that acted like this.

Following this evaluation, Shelly claimed to have felt as though she was having to gain control again, which in her eyes required her to become "meaner." This placed her in conflict with herself. On the one hand, she knew that in order to gain the respect of the pupils she had to be tougher on them. On the other hand, to become "meaner" was incompatible with her self-concept. She stated:

After Dr. Jones' evaluation, because I was evil to my kids for two weeks after that. I am still being meaner than I would like to be, but it is because...like my parents came to town and I made them come to school and one of the little girls told my mom that I was mean. I never want any child to say that about me. But then again, everybody says 'Shelly, you have to get meaner or you are never gonna get control.' I want to do it and I don't want to do it. But right after his evaluation I was just so mean and that is not like me. I am not doing it

now. I am kind of laying back. I have lost control again. That is not good for me. I need to be one way or the other because they don't understand. But that was the worst for me --right after the evaluation.

Shelly reported that her evaluation with the vice principal went well. When asked how she had grown so far this year, Shelly reported that at least she had learned to accept criticism and failure. She had to agree with what her vice principal said about her teaching and not take it personally.

The high point in Shelly's internship appeared to be her involvement in her action research project. From the first interview Shelly was interested in how parental support affected the pupils' behaviors. She started making "good news phone calls" which were well received by both her pupils and their parents.

CHAPTER 9

JILLIAN

*...please let someone come stand in my shoes
and see how it is for me...*

Jillian was a confident twenty-two year old African-American woman who had been raised by her mother and grandmother in Memphis, Tennessee. Jillian's parents divorced three months prior to Jillian's birth. Her mother, a nurse, worked to take care of her three children. Jillian, the youngest child, stated that "we did not have a lot of money, but it was enough for her to take care of us and to make us feel , you know, comfortable." Jillian sees her father on special holidays. She stated that, "I was always afraid to go with him by myself, and still today I have to take my mother or somebody with me because I don't want to go by myself." Jillian's ambivalent feeling about her father influenced her views on family and future. She indicated "that is a big thing [living without a father] for me and I think about that in the future. When I am dating I try to choose somebody that I think about my children...the affects that both of us are going to have on the child."

Jillian and two older brothers grew up Catholic. However Jillian reflected that she, her cousin (who lives with her and her grandmother), and brothers were the "first generation not to go to Catholic schools. Jillian attended Mass every week while growing up. More recently, while attending university, she decided to worship at a nondenominational church, the Community Evangelistic. Reflecting on why she became a teacher, Jillian discussed the influence her grandmother had had on her. Jillian claimed

that her Grandmother had stated, "'You need to pray and ask God.'" Jillian also told about how she had asked God to let her know if she was making a mistake once she had decided to become a teacher. Jillian indicated her feelings regarding this when she announced, "'Lord, if this is not what you want me to do, stop me early... 'cause I don't want to get on into it and find out that I don't want to do it or can't do it.'"

Like Mia, Jillian did not consider being a "black woman" as being different from anyone else. She said that, "I don't think being a black woman... I mean I never... it never really dawned on me until I got here. Of course, then it was not being a black woman it was just being black." After moving to a new city and starting university Jillian's racial identity had become an important part of her life. She had started noticing a higher percentage of interracial couples and this affected her. Jillian commented, "[This] is new for me... and then I started thinking about being a black woman. That is when those issues started hitting me. This is a recent thing with me."

Jillian also expressed her discomfort when made to feel answerable for the entire African-American Community. Being one of two interns involved in the Urban/Multicultural cohort at the university, Jillian felt that she was frequently asked to comment on what it meant to be black. She expressed agitation with one of her instructors, a white woman, who would consistently ask for Jillian's or Mia's reflection. Jillian commented,

That makes me feel uncomfortable, when other people make it an issue. Don't ask me if all black females... just ask me about me. Some of our experiences have been different, don't ask me to represent the whole race, don't ask me to represent the whole gender, I can't. I cannot. I would be a bad representation for a lot of females... It is because they [university

instructors] think I know everything about being black and everything about being a female and I don't, I don't at all and then especially a lot of negative things...Just don't ask me about teenage pregnancy and black people. I'm not a teen mother and never been in the situation, I don't know any teen mother personally...they [university instructors] ask me about rap...I hate rap, don't ask me about rap, I'm not the rap expert, so things like that, but if they want to know something about me it's fine...

Jillian did feel however, that there might be some advantage to being black when it came time to talk with parents. She said, "I think it might be an advantage with the parents...because they maybe feel more comfortable with me...than with maybe a white teacher..."

In relation to finding her way to the Urban/Multicultural program, Jillian discussed how she had not originally interviewed for that particular program. Although she had wanted to teach black students who were in need, she had not realized that placement at a specific public school depended upon the program she had been accepted by. After applying to a different unit, she was approached by one of the university's senior administrators and asked if she would mind considering transferring to the Urban/Multiculture unit as "they [African-American students] needed Black role models in those schools." Jillian was "glad" that she was able to join the program. She would have done so in the first place if she had been informed about how the program worked. The differences between Jillian's culture and her perceptions of the inner-city were compared (Figure 8).

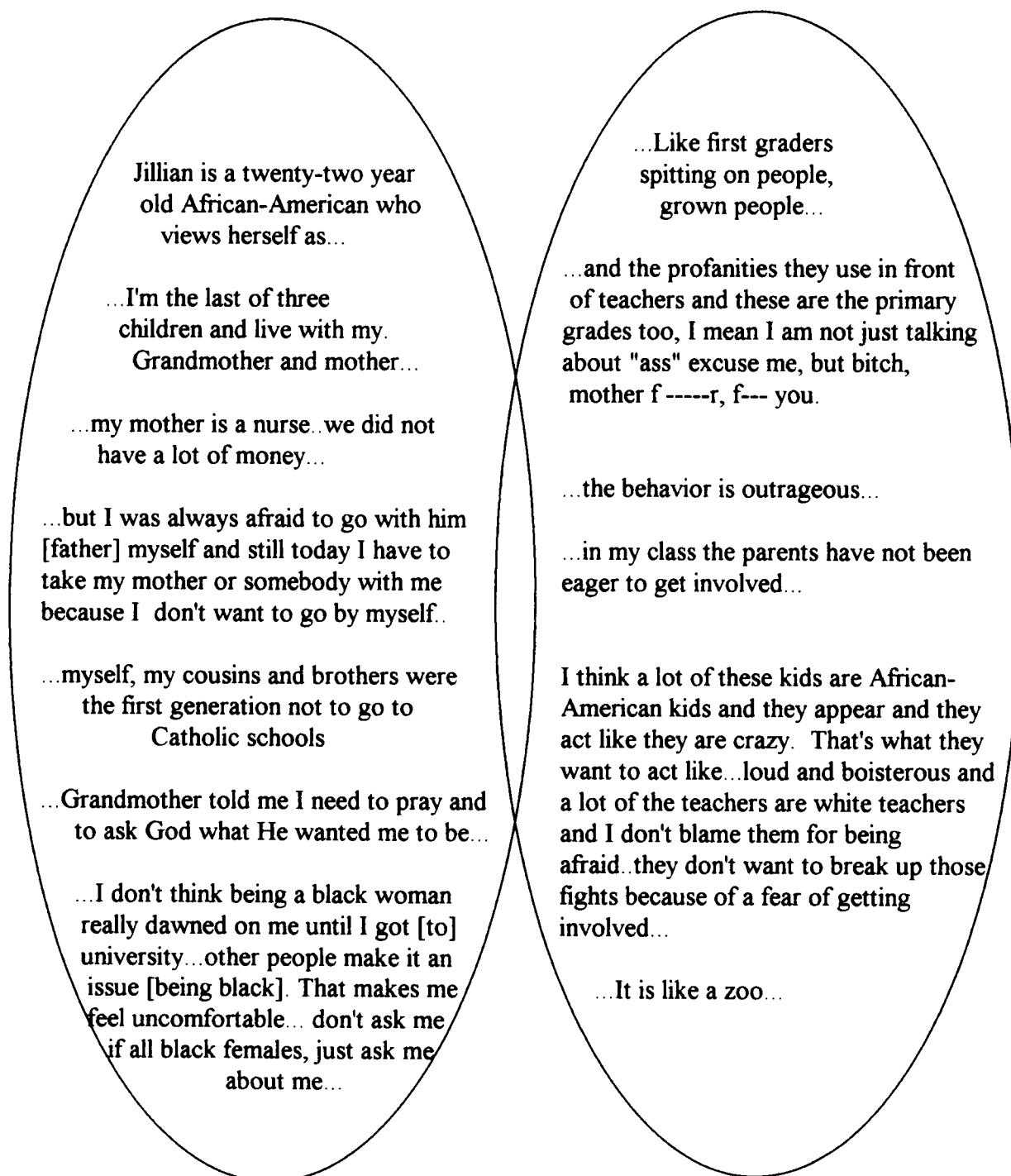
JILLIAN'S CULTURESCHOOL CULTURE

Figure 8. Jillian's cultural background and her perceptions of the school's culture

Impact of mentoring teacher

Jillian, like the other interns, had two different mentoring teachers as guides that helped her through her intern experience. The first, Mrs. Albright was an African-American who had taught for 28 years and was Jillian's primary mentor. Mrs. Shelly-Law was white and only had Jillian in her classroom for a six-week rotation. Jillian described these experience as being very different.

Jillian described Mrs. Albright as a veteran teacher who had a "lot of energy..[and] very high expectations...and who is highly complimentary and encouraging." During their first encounter, Mrs. Albright spoke to Jillian about her expectations and her willingness to answer any of Jillian's questions. She made Jillian feel very much at home. Jillian stated:

We talked a long time and we started to feel comfortable...I felt very comfortable Monday, at first I felt like I was going to be in her way, but she let me know that we were going to be a team teaching from the start. As far as the students go, they have two teachers.

Mrs. Albright informed Jillian not to tell the pupils that she was a university student, but to maintain an image of being the teacher. From the very first encounter, Jillian was made to feel like a professional. Mrs. Albright shared her planning book, schedules, and materials with Jillian, and as a team they began to learn about their students. Jillian stated, "We shared right from the beginning...and we still do, and when she is on her planning time, I have them, and when she has activities we sit down and talk about the activities."

Jillian also indicated that Mrs. Albright complimented her frequently, informing her that she was doing "a good job in taking over" the classroom responsibilities. Jillian further suggested that, "She is very encouraging, and I'm glad I'm learning a lot." As the

term progressed, Mrs. Albright continued to encourage Jillian to take over more of the classroom discipline and teaching. Very shortly after the internship began Mrs. Albright's child became very sick and Jillian was placed in charge of the classroom for the morning. Jillian wrote a reflection regarding this experience and discussed the behaviors of the students and her ability to control and direct the students through the morning without aid.

The rotation experience with Mrs. Shelly-Law, however, proved to be a disorienting experience. As Jillian stated in one of her written reflections, she had just begun to feel confident with her second graders and with the routines that she and Mrs. Albright had established. Jillian was not prepared to enter fourth grade and begin over again. Moreover, neither Jillian nor Mrs. Shelly-Law, fourth grade mentor, had been formally introduced until the day of the rotation. In fact, Mrs. Shelly-Law was not even aware that she was going to have an intern until the morning of the rotation. Jillian wrote, "My new mentoring teacher, Mrs. Shelly-Law, found out Tuesday morning (the very morning that the rotation began) that she would have an intern. So imagine how she feels?"

The day proved to be an uncomfortable one for Jillian who was given little to do. There was also little communication between the two. Jillian was neither invited to join the fourth grade team for lunch nor was she made aware of the fourth grade schedule. She stated in the second interview, "...nobody explained the schedule to me...nobody ever invited me like, 'come on and go to lunch'...I was not informed about a schedule and I didn't feel good about that at all." Later she said that "Those first two or three weeks, I

didn't feel good about it at all. I wasn't doing anything in the room. I would ask to do things but there wouldn't be anything to do. Or if I could do something, we would never get to it..."

It was not until sometime into the rotation that Mrs. Shelly-Law found out that Jillian was only staying for a six week rotation. Jillian reflected:

One day she did tell me...she was like, 'So how long you gonna be here, January or February?' and I was like, 'No, I am leaving in November' and I told her the date and she said 'Oh!' She was clue less to who I was, when I was coming and when I was leaving, and probably to what I was supposed to be doing there.

A connection was finally made between Jillian and Mrs. Shelly-Law after Jillian found out that Mrs. Shelly-Law had recently finished her Ed.S. Mrs. Shelly-Law encouraged Jillian to complete the numerous tasks the university had assigned and even allowed her to teach social studies directly from a basal. Jillian stated, "She [Mrs. Shelly-Law] was like they need to do page so-and-so in the workbook. We just did the workbook." Additionally, Jillian was allowed to choose and do a novel study. She commented, "I would read, and then some of them would read, and then we would discuss each chapter of the book."

When reflecting upon the overall experience of the second six week rotation, Jillian wrote in one reflection that the class was very well behaved. But even though Mrs. Shelly-Law was a very good teacher, Jillian was very bored with the daily routines. She also commented again on how "awful" she felt by being left out of lunch. In a later written reflection Jillian commented, "I felt like I wasted a lot of experience time; however, I was

able to complete course work. This is because there was very little for me to do in this class. During the interview, Jillian stated more positively:

I think she is a great teacher, but I think that she is just usually on the ball with time, because she is good with those computers and technology that she incorporates and they are making books. They do things like that but they do the work on the board first and it sometimes takes them all day. So I think that time just limits for her. But for the first couple of weeks, I didn't like it because I didn't feel comfortable being there or talking to her, but like I said, it got better. And so I had two different feelings about this six weeks. Anyway, she is not a very outgoing type person....I got a lot of course work done in there.

Returning back to second grade and the routines previously established with Mrs. Albright was an exciting event for Jillian. She wrote, "Yes! I am back in my second grade class. I was excited all weekend about going back to my 'home.'" For the remainder of the year Jillian continued to receive steady reinforcement and greater responsibilities. Mrs. Albright intentionally walked out of the room while Jillian was teaching, only to walk back in several minutes later and make the comment, "This is good," or, "I love this class, it is quiet." Jillian reflected that the pupils have "got to the point where they can work quietly without Mrs. Albright being there."

During the third interview Jillian discussed how she felt that Mrs. Albright prepared her for the job of teaching early in the year, realizing that her daughter was going to be sick during the year. Jillian expressed how that was a healthy process for her in that it forced her to become more responsible. She commented:

I think I am in a different position than a lot of the interns, because my mentoring teacher has a very sick child. This is the sickest she has been. She has Down's Syndrome. She is thirteen and she has had to be out a lot. I think she kind of foresaw this and she really got me in there early and I was like...the other interns were like they get to do this and work on the

computer in class, and get some school work done. And I was like, I really don't have time to do that 'cause she has got me in there. And she told me, it seems like you have a lot to do, but when I am not here, I want you to be prepared. I really appreciate that cause she has had to be out like four weeks sometimes. She would call and she checks on us. It was like that around Christmas. There was a lot of time around Christmas that she was gone. So it was really just me and the kids.

By the third interview Jillian was doing the majority of the class planning and preparation. She claimed that she had two reading groups, while Mrs. Albright had only one. Jillian was obviously very excited about teaching and about her internship experiences. She became so caught up in the teaching that she stated that she and the pupils often forgot recess

We have so much to do. I mean we play games like with the spelling words. I got spelling basketball from one of the other interns and they love it. We play math war and they like doing that. In the morning I give them, I was kind of disappointed...a lot of them did not know the days and the months of the year. We do a game when we line up with those and everybody got a turn. But I am glad about that. They get a big kick out of writing on the board and I don't mind. They just like to work the problems on the board. We started multiplication, and they will go get their own thing and they use it in their free time. Time and money and days of the week and months, I try to make those on-going. I don't want them to forget it. We do go outside, but a lot of times we forget.

Impact of the University

Jillian's experience during her internship was influenced by her perception of being divided between her role as a university student and as a professional teacher. She also felt restricted by the university's requirements that she do course work, attend university classes, and be supervised by the university staff. Until the last interview, Jillian's attitudes and thoughts about her university experiences were often negative. However, in the last

interview she shifted her position and expressed positive attitudes. The discussion that focused on the university revolved around three different time periods. The first related to the course work held during the spring prior to the internship; the second related to her involvement during the fall term in which she mixed being an intern three and a half days a week with taking university classes for one and a half days; her last reference reviewed the year.

The impact of the spring courses prior to her internship left Jillian feeling that she would rather not be taking any classes at all. Her initial statement, "I can honestly say that I'm not looking forward to taking the classes coming up" is based on the intense amount of work that was due toward the end of the spring semester, as well as to her relationships with the instructors and students. In short, Jillian stated, "...it was very stressful. We had a whole lot of work and I guess it was like our first time getting together. And working in groups put a lot of pressure on us..." She identified that "personality types" were so different in the cohort and that some individuals were so competitive for the instructors' attention. Jillian stated:

You know it is really important, and some of the students compete for the teachers. And if you don't get in the competing or you are not interested in competition, then you just get blown over with it. And I'm definitely not one that is up for the competition.

Meeting and conversing with the same people every day added to the stress of the course. For Jillian, "seeing the same people everyday" became stressful since "...there are not a lot of people that I dislike, but there are not a lot of people that I really like either. Like there were only a few that I would rather just talk to on a daily basis..."

Jillian frequently mentioned the amount of course work as adding to her stress level. Jillian reflected how she felt after the term ended. She stated, "For at least a week after graduation I kept waking up thinking I forgot to hand something in. I would be dreaming, 'What did I forget to turn in? It was so much. I mean the work.'" The course work, the different personalities, and being called upon by instructors to describe what perspective an African American might have on a particular subject, all aided in Jillian feeling "I think it was one of my worst semesters."

During the fall term, Jillian discussed the dilemma of balancing between being a student and being a teacher. She was torn between her commitment to her professional life of learning how to become a classroom teacher and wanting to finish her assignments on time for the university. Jillian commented that she was past the point of frustration. "I think I am beyond frustration. I am past frustration because I counted, and I was like we have like eleven days to get everything, I mean everything done, so I am just dealing with it." The need to finish her assignments was so overwhelming that she was completing them during her classroom time once she had her pupils settled. This led her to question her role and responsibilities. Fortunately at this particular time, she was into her second rotation and the teacher was encouraging her to complete the assignments. Her assignments frustrated her as there were always more to come. Jillian described this dilemma:

We were talking to some of the other professors about [how] we are really struggling with that because all week we are teachers until right before we go to Dr. Lowes class. We [have] been teaching. We [have] been assuming this role. Then we come to their class and we are students and then I guess it would be disappointing that it seems like all we care about is

getting this project out of the way....we are trying to move from one project to the other. We are just trying to make it from one to the other....I pulled out some of my work, cause I thought I gotta get some of this done so even when I am in school. I know some of the professors think we are neglecting their work but even when we are in our school...sometimes we forget our own work and neglect the students and I hate it.

The balancing of roles became an important part of Jillian's experience during her first semester as a classroom teacher. She felt constantly "rushed and hurried to do everything." Jillian talked about how one professor was unable to help her "to balance being an intern and being a student." Jillian commented on the amount of stress she felt while trying to complete five projects simultaneously:

It is not so much spending the time in the classroom, it is the things that we have to do here and at the schools. Particularly planning the lesson plans for the principal and your evaluation for the principal and the evaluation that come up and our university evaluation. And then the field trips and the programs and all the little things that come up. And you know, you never get done!

Jillian remained in a state of liminal dissonance throughout the fall semester. She claimed, "I feel like two different people and I am just doing what I need to do to get by in both areas and that is very terrible and I hate for my life to be that way. But that is just honestly how it is going."

During Jillian's third interview the bulk of the course work was finished, except for an on-going action research project mandatory for all university education students. However, Jillian continued to discuss her feeling of being uncomfortably split between the two roles. Here she alluded to becoming almost as a child and behaving as one.

I know that the professor tells us all the time that we can't separate the two but I think that just about everybody has had a hard time not separating the two because it is different. Because going to the school, we are an adult who is responsible for the kids. It is almost like [being] a professional. Then we sit down to do our own work and we go back to that little child mode, and it is hard not to do so. It is like now we are the student, we are the kids. We may even start to whine and say I don't know how to do this. What do I do now. Or I don't want to do this. It has been very hard. We have had a problem of balancing the both of them. The other interns are having the same problem too.

In reflecting on what she would do differently if she were planning the year again, Jillian commented on her desire to have the professors from the university "walk in her shoes for a day" to get the feeling of what it really means to be a teacher. Jillian commented on how the course work helped her not to become singularly focused on a given situation, but rather had helped her not "to prejudge a situation" but wait and "really find out what is going on." In sum, Jillian stated, "I have learned to be careful and not to prejudge and [not] to generalize."

With the course work completely finished and the final paper handed in, Jillian commented once more about the role of the university in her becoming a teacher. By this point she maintained that, in comparison to some of her friends in other units, she felt "very much more prepared... We are more confident and as far as legal wise, the people in this cohort want to make sure we are doing legal things. And with all that we are better prepared." Jillian elaborated on how she was able to aid several of her friends with lesson plans and activities that she had learned throughout both her internship and course work. Jillian also reflected during her last interview on some of the difficulties that had arisen

since the last interview. Again, Jillian articulated the primary conflict that she encountered was trying to bring the university and her classroom together.

It was almost like, 'please let someone come stand in my shoes and see how it is for me.' It was like we just could not bring the two together. And that was one thing that I could relate to with everyone in the class, it is hard. We were trying to bring it together, but it was very hard.

Impact of Students and Parents

Jillian's comments regarding her experiences with her students, her students' parents as well as her overall sense of growth and purpose were compared.

Students

The first two written reflections demonstrated the typical concerns that Jillian felt for her pupils. She was concerned about their maturational growth, both socially and academically. These first two reflections centered on a young boy, Bradley, who at first appeared to be a typical bright second grader. However, during the second interview, Jillian spent a great deal of her time talking to me about Bradley and how he could not identify the letters in the alphabet. Jillian was very concerned about this youngster and decided to work with him throughout the year, culminating in a case study for her action research paper.

Jillian was not only disturbed about how many of the children appeared to be developmentally delayed, but also how their parents did not appear to be worried about it.

In Bradley's particular case, however, Jillian found his mother was concerned, claiming:

She said at home she has to get the belt to him and everything and she wanted to know how he was doing. But when we told her about the vocabulary words and the spelling words, most of the kids have twelve words, but some can only handle six...he only does six of the words...

When I informed her of my assessment of him and his alphabet she didn't seem shocked. She just nodded.

Jillian continued to work with Bradley, helping him identify both the written letters of the alphabet and their corresponding sounds. Jillian stated that "he loves to do his work. He just can't do it." The situation was intensified for Jillian when she realized the lack of support these children receive from their parents in relationship to schoolwork.

Parents

The lack of parental help worried Jillian in that she could not fully understand how parents could simply accept their children's poor work. She indicated that many of the pupils went home daily with "pulled tickets" (behavior modification) which must be signed by the parents. The signatures come back each time, but none of the parents seemed concerned. Jillian explained how her mentoring teacher logs many phone calls she makes to parents requesting interviews, but "they just don't come." Jillian indicated that:

We are losing them...the spelling is going down, the vocabulary, writing, the writing is going down. ... So, but, today then Mrs. Albright, she has got...she has tried to get in touch with all the parents and some of them have been successful, with maybe, one or two of our seven or eight kids.

Jillian indicated that to try and involve parents they first made phone calls, then wrote letters, and finally even made emergency phone calls. She also stated that this "is what makes me so upset because I do not know why the parents are not responding..."

Jillian did not appear to have any major difficulties with the behavior of her second grade pupils. All Jillian's references to her pupils involved their academic performance. When discussing the pupils in general at Carter Elementary, Jillian did express a concern.

She expressed shock about seeing a bus dismissal in which first and second grade children called each other names and were constantly fighting and yelling at each other. Jillian stated, "Like first graders spitting on people, grown people and the profanities they use in front of teachers and these are primary grades too. I mean I am not just talking about 'ass. Excuse me, but 'bitch', 'm----- f-----,' and 'f---you!'" Jillian also expressed dismay at the teacher's reactions, or lack thereof, to these student behaviors. She described incidences in which children "put their hands over their ears when a teacher is talking to them or they are mumbling back, 'you ain't my momma.'" When asked why she felt the teachers did not take the initiative in situations like this, her reflection focused on the difference between being black and white. Jillian stated,

I think a lot of these kids are African-American kids and they appear and they act like they are crazy. That's what they want to act like...loud and boisterous. And a lot of the teachers are white teachers and I don't blame them for being afraid...they don't want to break up those fights because of a fear of getting involved with it. That's my perception, but I have noticed that a black teacher will go over there and say something. I don't think they're as afraid. But I can understand this....It is like a zoo.

Growth

Jillian began to allude to changes in her lifestyle during the second interview when she proclaimed that "I have never felt so grown up in all my life (laughter)." She expressed how when she returned home and visited her younger cousins her emphasis was on how they were doing at school, what their TCAP scores were like, buying them books for Christmas and birthdays, and so on. Jillian stated that her family role was different.

Her cousins and family now viewed her more as a professional and as an adult.

Additionally, Jillian talked about how her perspective had shifted. She stated,

Now, I have realized that everybody did not grow up like Jillian. Everybody don't see things like Jillian. Everybody didn't have the advantages or disadvantages that Jillian had. And I have started to understand that a lot of these kids are the way they are for a reason.

She attempted to incorporate this understanding into her relationships at school, particularly with the pupils' parents who typically did not attend scheduled meetings and who, from an outsider's perspective, did not seem interested in their children's education. Jillian stated, "I can't be mad... if a mother doesn't show up for a scheduled meeting...I have to remember and understand that some things may have occurred..."

Jillian suggested that her sense of having matured was due to the responsibilities placed upon her during the internship year. She stated that old friends claimed that she "sound[ed] so grown up" and her comment back was, "I have never felt so grown before and it is because I feel so responsible for my students and so now it is almost like I feel like a parent..." By this third interview, Jillian claimed to "have changed a whole lot." Prior to the intern year she had believed she would marry young and have several children. Now she reflected that the pupils "fill a void in my life and I can wait five or six more years."

Jillian also suggested that her personal life had changed a lot too. She had become more conscious of her role in the public-schools and so would not engage in activities she had once done. Her clothing had also altered in order to fit a teacher's lifestyle. Jillian claimed that "I have a closet full of school clothes!" In fact, Jillian described what the

previous semesters Friday nights had been like, "Oh, it is Friday...what are we gonna do?" Now when it is Friday, I am like, 'Good, I can clean my room and check some papers and call it a night,' And my friends tell me I act like an old lady." In the fourth interview, She stated that she did not even care to have a social life anymore, preferring instead to spend the time grading papers. Jillian commented:

My public image was always important to me, but it is just that more people are starting to notice now. I used to go out with my friends, but now I don't want to. I have papers to grade and they are like, 'Why?' The things that they are talking about are different now. I don't have a social life now. I don't even care. A teacher I met in Memphis is the same way, she said she is more into herself now, and it does not bother her. I just want to get things done and be ready for tomorrow.

Purpose

During her last interview, Jillian made reference to the sense of purpose she had developed over the previous several months. She stated that "I have a vision that even if I don't teach, I know that I want to help others. I don't feel like I have to have anything. I ask God to put me in a position to help others." Her understanding of God has also changed during the year. Prior to coming to the university her relationship with God had been dependent upon her mother's and grandmother's relationship to God. Now she stated:

I realized that I had to establish my own relationship with God. There were so many things that I know would not have happened if He had not been in my life personally. My kids [second graders] were seven and when I look back to when I was seven, God had a reason for my life and that just amazes me.

CHAPTER 10

THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE

Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Empowerment

The purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of five women student-teachers as they interned over several months in one of two inner-city schools. The study was designed to explore the perceptions, understandings and experiences of the student-teachers during their internships. What stories did they have to tell about working in the inner-city? What experiences were most salient to them? How did they cope with issues that arose? What transitional phases did they pass through?

The study used a blending of symbolic interactionism and narrative inquiry to understand the student-teachers' lived experiences. Symbolic interactionism is a theory of how meaning is constructed by people from the roles and social structures in which they find themselves. The theory assumes that people are constantly meeting new situations and continuously striving to make sense of them. Research proceeds by examining human interactions via symbols such as words, gestures, artifacts or signs that may mean something different (or are interpreted differently) for each person (deMarrias, 1995). Peoples' beliefs about themselves and their environments are said to determine the action they take in any set of circumstances as well as the symbols they use to interpret their actions.

Three different modes of data collection were used during the course of the year, i.e., personal interviews, written reflections, and group discussions. The first interview

occurred in the first month of school. Three subsequent interviews were held at equally spaced intervals during the year (November, February and May). A guideline for the interview was prepared in order to keep attention focused on the perceptions and experiences of the interns. Items in the guideline included: "Tell me a story about working in the inner-city," "What experiences stand out most for you?" "In what ways have you matured?" and "Tell me a story about one of your students."

The second mode of data collection involved weekly reflections written by the interns. These described various events encountered during the previous weeks teaching. These 'stories' were collected for a period of three months.

The third mode of data collection involved group discussions. The interns met each week over a period of three months to describe their experiences and perceptions of interning in inner city schools. Both discussions and interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed.

The present study sought to understand the experiences of interns from the framework of symbolic interactionism. Each of the intern's personal beliefs, stories and prior experiences were unique, but collectively, they differed from the cultural norms of the pupils in the schools where they interned. As the year progressed, the interns' meanings and understandings of their roles changed, as did what the interns believed they would be able to accomplish. The symbolic language, meaning, and understanding of the school culture forced the interns to re-examine their views of themselves.

All the interns were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-three. Three were Caucasian and two were African-American; all had lived the greater portion of their lives in the state in which they attended university, and all were from middle-class backgrounds. Each was in transition from the life of a university student to that of professional. Differences between the interns' cultural background (prior knowledge, educational backgrounds, personal experiences) and their perceptions of problems in the inner-city schools (violence, poverty, sexual abuse) created within them states of cognitive and emotional dissonance. Added to these feelings of disequilibrium were the changes also occurring in their status as emerging professionals.

The study took place over a period of one academic year during which the interns completed at least one six-week rotation to a grade other than the one in which their mentoring-teachers taught. All transcripts and reflections were analyzed and issues and themes were extracted. A paradigmatic analysis of the individual texts were employed to better understand the narratives. The texts (transcribed interviews, oral and written reflections) were coded and reorganized into separate files of similar content. Based on the similar content of the reorganized texts, tables were formatted to shape the narratives and allow meaning to be abstracted. Individual vignettes were written in order to better understand the student-teachers' experiences. Each intern's voice was heard. The vignettes along with the tables helped to structure the model which each intern processed through as they assimilated the culture of the inner-city schools in relation to their own. Conflict between the two cultures became evident as the vignettes were formulated.

The conflict brought on by contact between the two cultures induced a state of dissonance or liminality. During the intern year, the student-teacher had to adapt, change, and redirect their experiences into coherent perspectives that enabled them to make sense of what was happening. To make sense of their new situations, the interns first had to accept the new cultural situations they found themselves in. This often required the interns to change expectations and alter what they had previously believed to be true.

Anthropologist A. van Gennep (1960), defined liminal points as those specific times in people's lives when major transitions take place. These are the points at which people have left behind a clearly identified social status but not yet entered another. Individuals in conditions of liminality often see themselves as being in a position that is "ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification" (Bennett, 1995, p. 35).

Each intern found herself, at varying points during the year, in a liminal state. These points of liminality were characterized by confusion, upset, concern, and uncertainty. The emotional and psychological dissonance in the interns' lives were often caused by the conflict generated from the coming together of the interns' cultural backgrounds and those of the inner-city schools in that they found themselves in. Each intern had to cope with and these cultural differences.

Specific issues arose during the course of the year for each of the interns. Although the issues differed from one to another in regard to the amount of time spent on them and the degree of intensity felt, many issues involved conflict. The issues were

developed and then organized under three major themes: (a) conflicts with the 'environment' such as the inner-city culture, pupils' home lives, the university; (b) conflicts with 'others' such as mentoring teachers, supervisors, pupils; and (c) conflicts with the 'self' such as personal abilities, growth, and purpose. The results were translated into individual narrative vignettes (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9) that described the experiences of each intern.

The data emerged from a bottom-up approach known as grounded theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1975) and were organized using a theory of development based on four stages of student-teachers experience. The model worked especially well when describing conflict resolutions arising from interactions with the culturally different (for the interns) inner-city schools. It is understandable that when two cultures as distinct as those of the interns' and the inner-city come into contact, issues will arise (Figure 1, p.83). Although the particular issues arising were unique to each intern, similar patterns of conflict resolution applied across interns and across issues.

Over time, the interns learned to accept and understand their working environments. As they passed through their states of liminality and cognitive dissonance, their understanding grew. Often this empowered them and they were able to manage better their situations and conflicts.

Student-Teacher's Culture

The student-teachers' stories, illustrated in the vignettes, reflected unique experiences. The interns' cultural backgrounds, beliefs, and values, although different

from each other, nonetheless shared common elements. The Venn diagram component of the model for each intern (pages 98, 114, 132, 152, 167) represented: (a) their perceptions of their own cultures and (b) their perceptions of the schools' cultures. Table 4 outlined the backgrounds as well as some of the similarities among the interns' cultures. The typical American student-teacher has been described as a 20 to 23 year-old, single, white woman coming from a middle-class background (Barker, 1992; National Commission, 1996). This typical profile, for the most part, fit the interns studied here. All were between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, were single, and averaged a lower-middle-class background. One exception to the pattern was that two of five interns were African Americans. Other similarities among the interns included: (a) being raised in the same general vicinities as the universities they would later attend, (b) coming from divorced families, (c) being religious and attending churches, and (d) feeling desires to improve the lives of those around them.

All five participants described, at varying times, a strong attachment to religious beliefs and a personal God-given sense of purpose. Julie continuously struggled between her need to "serve the Lord" in a missionary fashion with urban children and to become a school teacher. Both Mia and Jillian discussed their Catholicism and prayed to God for His guidance. Jillian reflected on how her grandmother "told me to pray and ask God what He wanted me to be" and prior to entering university she had prayed, "Lord if this is not what you want me to do...stop me early..." Jillian also described how she had

Table 4: Similarities and Differences of Intern's Culture

INTERN	COMPARISON OF INTERNS' CULTURE
Mary	Background: Twenty-two, single, white, parents divorced, two brothers, middle to upper-middle class background. Affective: Liberal minded, feminist (not radical), believes in the equal rights for all, drawn to empathy, Christian, Purpose: "Which is my main goal in life...to help children or some person out. Maybe make that difference to change someone's life."
Julie	Background: Twenty-three, single, white, parents divorced, grew up Episcopal, extroverted. Affective: "I mean I have a strong desire to be a wife and a mom, because I never had stability. I never had a church going family, and that is very important to me." Purpose: "You know, if I had the opportunity and if someone wants to hear me talk about the Lord, to talk to them [about] what my hope is, I would. I don't know what I would do without God."
Mia	Background Twenty-two, single, African-American, parents divorced, grew up with grandparents and mother, Catholic. Affective: "...being black and being female... and now I can really reflect on that because I am like a double minority" Purpose: I want black kids to see black teachers and to see that black people can succeed."
Shelly	Background: Twenty-two, single, white, upper-middle class family, two sisters, middle child, close family, Southern Baptist. Affective: "I am usually very conservative and everybody else is very liberal...being raised Southern Baptist had a lot to do with how I am so conservative [with a] lot of the issues" Purpose: "I need a lot of help with the split homes, divorced families, whose parent are in jail.

Table 4 (Continued)

INTERN	COMPARISON OF INTERNS' CULTURE
Jillian	Background: Twenty-two, single, working class, single mother, African-American, last of three children, divorced family, lived with grandmother and mother, Catholic Affective: "...my Grandmother told me I need to pray and ask God what He wanted me to be..." Purpose: Jillian did not make a statement that could be classified as a 'purpose' statement.

recently moved away from the Catholic church to a non-denominational evangelistic type of service. Shelly discussed how being "a Southern Baptist has a lot to do with how I am conservative" and that her conservatism did not fit the ethos of the Urban/Multiculture unit in which she worked. Mary, too, reflected on having grown up in the "Bible-belt and I been in church as long as I can remember." Now she attended church with Julie. Mary stated that "having faith, having hope...having forgiveness, sometimes I feel like that has kinda shaped a lot of my life, if it was not for those things, I don't think I could have survived the kind of things that I have."

Another important similarity shared by the five interns was a desire to teach inner-city children. Each intern had spent the previous four years completing a university degree and was now willing to spend another year teaching in a public school to gain certification. Mia stated that for her it was very important that she demonstrate to "black children that black women can succeed." Julie noted that after working with the Urban

Ministry for two summers, her desire was to work with inner-city children. Mary wanted to "improve the lives of any minority or others who have suffered." Shelly acted against her father's conservative wishes in order to intern in an inner-city school. For Jillian it was not until she was approached by a faculty member at the university to join the Urban/Multiculture program that she learned about her desire to teach inner-city children.

School Culture

Each of the five women participating in this study shared a common view of the lives of children in the inner-city (Table 5). They viewed the pupils as coming from environments and cultures different from their own. Some of the stories the interns told during their interviews and written reflections depicted frightening and very horrific scenes. The interns' descriptions of the inner-city culture were often vivid and dramatic and included drive-by-shootings, sexually molested youngsters, parents coming to school drunk, criminals selling drugs to children who then sold them to other children, and kindergarten children being shot in the housing projects. Mary and Julie spent the year at Washington Pike Elementary School, one of the most difficult environments in which to teach.

Indeed, the harshness of the inner-city culture led the interns to focus their accounts more on the lives of the children than on the educational process. Shelly's father had even telephoned the unit leader after visiting the school the previous year and refused to allow his daughter to return. The descriptions and direct quotes taken from the

Table 5: Summary of Interns' Perceptions of School Culture

Intern	INTERNS' PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL CULTURE
Mary – Third grade	"They sleep in bath tubs... he has been sexually abused... her street name is Cocaine... His mother is a prostitute... she was raped in kindergarten... they see so much crime and violence... woman laying naked in the street, begging for sex... they know about drugs and gangs... he pinched my bottom... that is a drive-by drill... This is a different world."
Julie – Third & First grade.	"Kiss my black ass!... finding notes that would blow you away... a mom, who is a [known] prostitute comes drunk to a meeting... she drew an erect penis with stuff coming out of it... a note said, I love his ass and his big dick... her brother killed her cat... [Daddy] was shot when I was four... My step-daddy just got out of prison and my mom just went in..."
Mia – Fourth grade	"Jerry is just...this child is from...excuse me...Hell!... He don't care who you are...he's gonna talk back... Jake has no respect for authority... Those kids were crazy... they almost had me crying [2nd graders]... we have kids standing up calling people mother-fuckers.... they go home to nobody or no adult...these parents are not involved or care about their children...they don't have money for book bags and stuff..."
Shelly – First grade.	" I drove by a shooting on the way to work the other day...I think I'm going to kill him [pupil in her class]... he was standing on his chair...he took his crayon box and just threw it on the ground...his parents blamed it on the teacher last year... he sat and rolled around the floor all day...she came in drinking and I could smell it across the table..."
Jillian - Second grade	"...first graders spitting on people, grown people... kindergarten kids and first graders being suspended from the bus for cussing adults...It is like a zoo... and the profanities they use... I mean I am not just talking about "ass" excuse me, but bitch, Mother Fucker, fuck you! ...in my class, the parents have not been eager to get involved"

transcripts provided illustrations of some of the interactions encountered by the five interns (Table 5).

The Model

When the interns came into contact with the experiences described above, they found them difficult to interpret, creating what psychologist Leon Festinger (1957) has called a state of cognitive dissonance. People have want consistency in beliefs, perceptions, and actions. When there has been a discrepancy in one of the cognitive elements, people have worked to create consonance out of dissonance because dissonance is unpleasant and arousing. One way that people have produced consonance is by redefining themselves and their expectations.

Similar analyses have been provided by sociologists who refer to points of liminality (the state felt when leaving one clearly identified social status and before entering another). Such transitions often produced a sense of disequilibrium. All five interns experienced cognitive dissonance and liminality.

All of the interns had to deal with and make sense of their situations. Their redefinitions of the situations that found themselves in often led to personal growth. Over time, ever more experiences were incorporated into the interns' schemas. As the interns adjusted further, some began to feel empowered. Some felt certain enough of themselves to re-discuss their initial conflicts from richer, deeper perspectives.

Most of the instances in which interns became empowered involved cognitive shifts within themselves. Instead of viewing problems from within an emotional state of

struggle, they had become able to articulate an intellectual analysis. The interns usually felt good about themselves after learning to be in control of their situation. They had matured enough that the original source of disequilibrium.

The particular disequilibrating issue varied from intern to intern (Table 1). Nonetheless, four of the interns spent time discussing themselves and their perceived growth as teachers and as individuals. A different combination of four interns discussed interactions with specific pupil. Other important issues for discussion resolved around mentoring-teachers. Yet another issue was the role the university played (or failed to play) in terms of supervision and course work.

The intensity felt by each intern on various issues cannot be measured directly. However, they clearly varied among themselves in their reactions to issues arising. For instance, Mia and Shelly experienced more intense feelings about disciplining the children than did either Julie or Mary, and Jillian did not to have to struggle with such feelings at all. Julie experienced her mentoring relationship as a non-stop source of difficulty and never did reach a state of empowerment whereas the other interns had relatively smooth relationships with their mentors.

Table 6: Specific Issues Faced by Each Intern

Intern	Issues
Mary	Self, Enviroment, Child, Mentor
Julie	Self, Child, Mentor
Mia	Self and Teaching, Mentor, Child
Shelly	Self, Child, Mentoring Teacher
Jillian	Mentor, University

The Interns Process of Conflict Resolution

Each problem seemed to involve a four phase process of resolution. The model (Figure 10) illustrates the transitions that each intern progressed through as they resolved their conflicts. As stated, conflicts often arose from the clash of cultures experienced by and/or perceived by the interns.

The first stage of development in the process of internal conflict resolution began with the clash of two cultures (Figure 9). Each intern, with her own unique experiences and prior understandings, attempted to assimilate the new environment. An immediate state of dissonance was generated as initial expectations met very different realities.

The second stage of development began when each intern became aware that they were in a state of cognitive dissonance. Caught between their previous expectations and the realities of inner-city classrooms, they were forced to reconsider their values and beliefs. In some cases they were able to adapt and to move forward to a phase of development characterized as growth. All interns grew in one dimension or another. Although most interns experienced growth, some continued to struggle, wavering back and forth between disequilibrium and growth (indicated via the dotted line in Figure 9).

The third stage of development occurred when the interns became more comfortable with their environments or with particular issues that had previously bothered them. Although in this stage some moving back and forth took place between earlier expectations and encountered realities, as time passed, the interns' perspectives broadened.

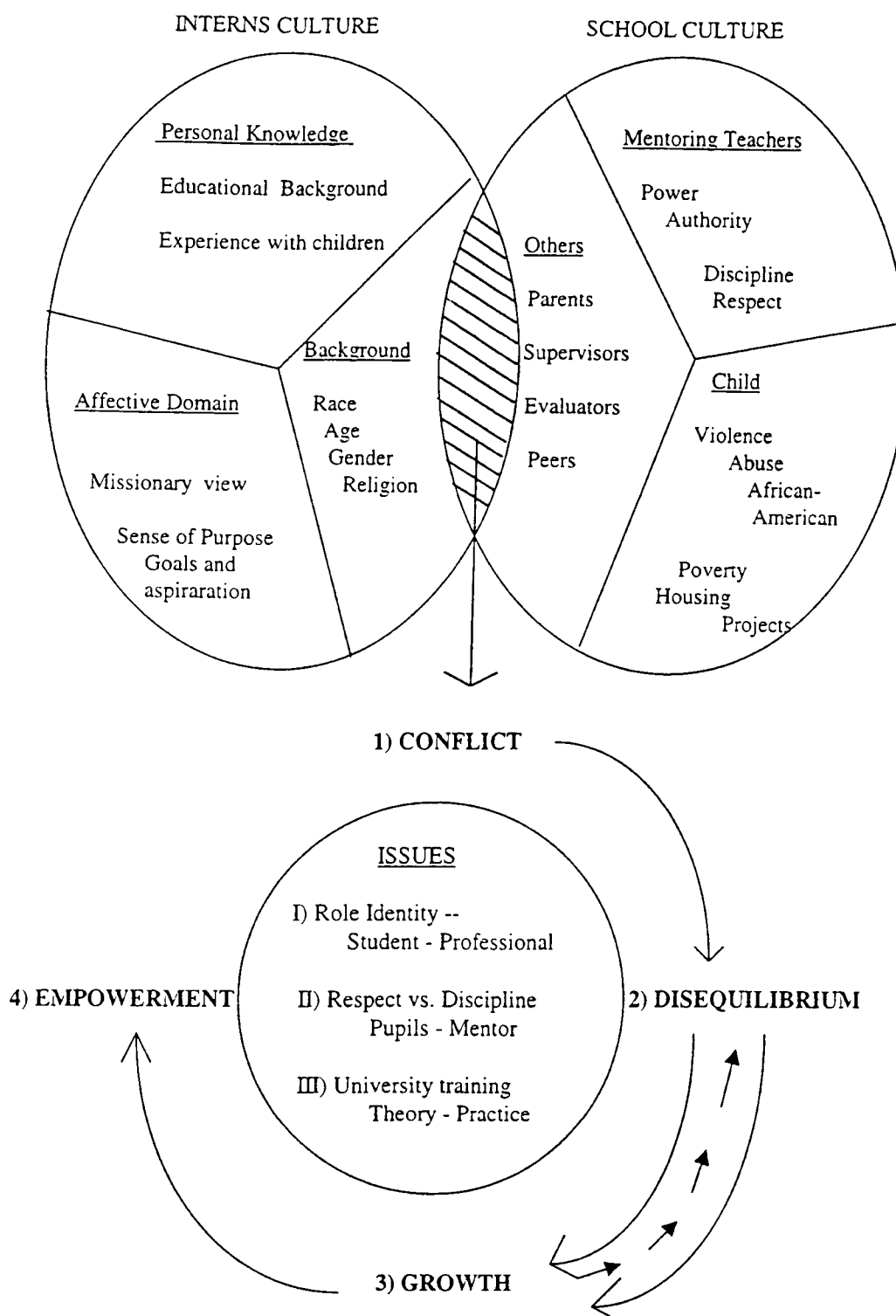


Figure 9: The merging of two cultures and the subsequent conflict and resolution.

The fourth part of the cycle was empowerment. This was identified as feelings of maturity, risk-taking, and confidence. The interns' re-described their initial problems from a more mature vantage point and no longer felt as much in conflict. Some even wondered why particular issues had consumed them in the first place. Others found their initial positions had completely changed as they embraced new perspectives.

Previous researchers (Bagley 1927; Fuller 1969; Brown & Fuller, 1975) had examined the developmental stages of student-teaching. Bagley's (1927) original study of student-teachers viewed their progression in terms of task-development. Fuller's (1969) studies generated understanding of student-teaching by proposing that student- teachers developed by learning to cope with their concerns. This study provided evidence that progress through similar stages of conflict and resolution. Although specific issues of concerns varied in both sequence and intensity, all interns did progress through a cycle of conflict resolution.

Fuller and Brown (1975) hypothesized a four-stage model of student-teacher concerns revolving around what student-teachers were concerned with rather than around what they were actually accomplishing. Fuller and Brown (1975) cautioned researchers to view these 'stages' as 'fuzzy sets' with unclear boundaries. It was not critical to determine, they suggested "[w]hether these are really stages or only clusters, whether they are distinct or overlapping, and whether teachers teach differently or are differentially effective in different stages" (p.37).

The model used here (Figure 9, p 197) explored these 'fuzzy sets' and unclear boundaries. The process viewed from this model is generic and applies to all five interns' concerns. For example, each intern discussed a relationship with a mentoring teacher (Table 7) and four of the five interns discussed their interaction with the pupils. During the course of the year all interns passed through each of the four phases (conflict, disequilibrium, transition, and empowerment), with regard to each of their areas of concern, i.e., mentoring teachers, pupils, self, and environment (Appendix F).

The process was unique for each intern. Some interns spent more time in one of the four phases than did others. For example, some interns passed through all four phases in just six weeks while others took the entire year.

Examples of Conflict to Empowerment

The different phases of the model concerning each of the five interns' relationships with their mentoring teachers and with their pupils are explained.

The Mentoring Teacher

Each intern had a different relationship with her mentoring teacher but some degree of conflict was common to all. Mary had a mainly congenial relationship with Mr. Rice. Nonetheless, even she described how at first she perceived him to be a "little more stern" than she would have liked.

Table 7: Phases of Development: Mentoring Teacher

INTERN	CONFLICT	DISEQUIL- IBRIUM	GROWTH	EMPOWER- MENT
	MENTORING TEACHER			
MARY	"...he's more stern than I am, but um... and I hope that I learn a way to have children respect me without having to be so stern..."	"...I feel I'm disappointing my teacher sometimes. I get that really uncomfortable feeling that I'm being too lenient...I want to learn how to do what he does so gracefully..."	"...I work with a great teacher who I didn't understand at first, but now he even says I have changed so much since the beginning of the year..."	"...he really helps me and every time I have had an observation, he has been really good. He will call me and make sure I have everything down and he really wants me to do good. He is really concerned about his teaching and he cares about the school..."
JULIE	"...I struggle with my teacher... ...I feel like my teacher is very much a dictator... I don't know that she knows how to relate to children... ...The teacher was mean and hateful, a real drill sergeant..."	"I'm scared that I would learn her weaknesses and learn her discipline style... ...When I think of all the teachers in the school who I could have gone with who are total extremes and I got them..."	"...I went to her and said, 'Ms. Moyers, do they really need to go to the office?' And it was really hard for me to do that, but I didn't really believe they needed to be there..."	"...I would recommend that the new interns go in hard and even though it breaks your heart to be that way, you have to do it. I think if I had known that in the beginning, I would have looked at Ms. Smith differently. 'Cause I went in going in, 'How dare she be this way!' I do think she was too extreme but I look at her now and I have a lot more respect for her."
MIA	"...I don't think it will be like I expected it, because I have a teacher who is, her class is going to be very well disciplined and she is stern and some of the teachers think she is mean..."	"I am thinking that maybe she is creative or can provide a good lesson, it is just that she has not done it yet. I am kind of anxious to see her teach a lesson to be honest..."	"...I remember telling you all that she doesn't let my kids go out to play...But now I see exactly why she doesn't, cause when you are actually trying to teach you actually don't have time to teach..."	"...Now, I feel like I have the same authority she does. I feel like a different person than I did last year..."

Table 7 (continued)

INTERN	CONFLICT	DISEQUIL- IBRIUM	GROWTH	EMPOWER- MENT
	MENTORING			TEACHER
SHELLY	...I'm [mentoring teacher] sorry that I [left] you with him. I should've of taken him with me... She knows that [Jake] does not listen to me, but she goes, 'more and more into the year once I finally get control of him, I will back off and make him listen to you, to get where you can gain control...	...I was pissed when I had to do it. I didn't want to do it because it [rotate into another class] was so un-organized. It was just like I was thrown into the classroom...	...Ms Landers [vice principal] was so positive about it [a lesson being taught]...I used no dittos and she was like...she told me that I was brave for not using dittoes...	...out of everything, what helped me the most this past year was working with Ms. McIntyre. Constantly everything I do, she gives me feedback. She tells me that I should try this and she is not negative at all...
JILLIAN	...My new mentoring teacher...found out Tuesday morning [the same day that the rotation began] that she was to have an intern...	...I was not informed about a schedule and I didn't feel good about that at all. I wasn't doing anything in the room. I would ask to do things but there wouldn't be anything to do...	...She was very helpful with that [university course work] because she just got her Ed.D. or Ed. S. So she went through the program and she was very up when she came around and started to talk to me...at first she wouldn't even talk to me....	...I think she is a great teacher...she is usually on the ball with time...she is good with those computers and technology that she incorporates and they are making books....

During the second interview Mary described Mr. Rice's disapproval of her. Mary described how she really wanted to "learn how to do what he does with grace." This desire to do gracefully and naturally what Mr. Rice did caused her to adapt and change her thinking about her relationship with the children. She decided that to become a professional teacher required her to act with more discipline toward the children -- just like Mr. Rice -- rather than like her friendly excitable self!

By the third interview Mary had adopted her mentoring teacher's manner. Although she "did not understand at first" what it was that he wanted, she was now pleased that Mr. Rice appreciated her changed behavior. Mary finally achieved a sense of empowerment and also a closeness to her mentor and described his attitudes toward her as very positive.

Julie's progression from conflict to empowerment seemed more dramatic than Mary's. Julie spent a great deal of time discussing and writing about her various teachers and the difficulties she had with them. Julie's background and sense of personal mission might have enlarged some of her differences with her mentors. During the first interview and throughout all of her reflective writings, Julie described her conflict with her mentoring teacher's style of discipline, reporting that "the teacher was mean and hateful, a real drill sergeant!"

As the year progressed Julie gained ground with her mentoring teacher by suggesting an alternative technique to manage the pupils. Progress to empowerment was shown during the last interview regarding this same teacher. She stated, "I would have

looked at Ms. Smith differently "cause I went in, 'How dare she be this way!'...now I look at her with respect." Julie had come full circle in her perception of this teacher.

Mia's relationship with her mentoring teacher focused on gaining "authority and power" so that she could be viewed by herself and the pupils as a "real teacher." Her initial disappointment with her mentor, Ms. Silvers, was similar to Julie's and Mary's disappointments. Mia had expected to find a fun-loving, exciting person, but instead had found only a stern teacher determined to have a well disciplined classroom.

A sense of disequilibrium was created in Mia who was wanting to see and teach creative lessons, but was instead only observing a teacher who placed the day's assignments on the blackboard. By the last interview however, Mia had accepted Ms. Silver's nature and teaching style. Mia claimed to have achieved a state of authority and power and believed this perception was shared by her pupils.

Shelly did not experience the same progression with her mentoring teacher as had the previous three interns with theirs. Shelly viewed her mentoring relationship as positive from the start. Nonetheless, a progression-through-conflict also occurred for Shelly albeit in a more global way. This was over the way her rotation was structured.

Shelly found herself in a state of dissonance when the faculty member in charge of Shelly's placement failed to inform her, or her rotation teacher, that Shelly was going to be placed in a particular room. Shelly stated that she was "pissed when I had to do it...it was unorganized." As the year progressed, Shelly learned to accept the situation and to perform better when evaluated by the vice-principal. Her final comment about her original

mentor was that she felt that "out of everything, what helped me the most this year was working with Mrs. McIntyre."

Jillian experienced the complete cycle of conflict, disequilibrium, growth, and maturity (empowerment) during her six week rotation. Neither Jillian nor her new mentoring teacher had been informed that Jillian was going to be placed in the classroom. Jillian was very uncomfortable about being placed in a classroom where the teacher had not expected her. The lack of communication with the mentoring teacher resulted in Jillian feeling as though there was little for her to do. This produced in her a state of disequilibrium.

As time passed, Jillian began to fit into the routines and procedures of the classroom. She accepted the situation for what it was and worked around it. Finally, as she perceived the teacher's strengths she grew more contented. Looking back upon the overall experience, Jillian complimented her teacher, elaborating on the teacher's ability to integrate computers and technology with language arts.

The Pupils

The following discussion considered the same cycle of progression, but related it to the interns' relationships with their pupils. Not all of the interns gained the state of "empowerment." One of the five interns did not discuss her pupils enough during the interviews to sufficiently ascertain whether the model applied (Table 8).

In each case the intern was exposed to a situation of confrontation. Mary discussed the young fourth grader who, while on a field trip, pinched her bottom. Julie

and Shelly struggled with gaining the respect of the pupils while still maintaining discipline. For Mia, a constant battle existed with Jake, "the boy from Hell."

One serious problem centered on inconsistencies between how the interns had expected the children to behave and how the children actually behaved. One state of disequilibrium was described by Mary when she made the following statement, "my euphoric world view [regarding children] is shattering..." Another example, by Julie, was when she alluded to her desire to be on the playground dancing with the pupils rather than meeting with teachers to complain about them. Mia, with her Catholic upbringing, could not adjust to young children speaking rudely to adults. Shelly simply did not know how to discipline the children and resorted to screaming at them.

By the third and fourth interviews the interns had grown in understanding of their pupils. One frequently made point was that a shift occurred in strategy from being "friendly" towards the pupils to maintaining strict and consistent discipline. Mary stated that it was important for her to establish boundaries. Julie talked of having had a good three weeks of being firm and structured. Mia had learned not to take everything personally and to remain patient. Shelly had been able to pull back and view the pupils from their perspective and also not to personalize everything.

For three of the four interns empowerment came by pulling back and accepting the environment for what it really was. After coping with the reality that they were not going to be able to change the pupils' homes and living conditions, the interns began to view their situations more realistically. Each intern stated one way or another that these

Table 8: : Phases of Development: The Pupil

INTERN	CONFLICT	DISEQUIL- IBRIUM	ACCEPTANCE	EMPOWERMENT
		THE PUPIL		
MARY	...I still have this kid part in me and it's like tug-a-war inside, ya know, like wanting to be an adult and still being a child... Like I wrote in my reflections, I had a little boy pinch me on my bottom...	...Rape and sexual abuse of children when they are small I think that a lot of that euphoric world view of mine has been shattered...	...I don't give as many second chances. You are not supposed to give these children lots of chances... They need those boundaries because they will walk all over you...	... They want that structure and boundaries....since I have become more stricter and aggressive, as far as my behavior, I have more kids tell me that they love me and warm up to me even more because they see me as an authority and I am going to take care of them....So I love waking up in the morning to come here...
JULIE	...I don't think I've gotten to know the kids enough. I'm so focused on discipline that it is like it puts this barrier between us....	...Julie will continue to let her child-like strengths be used to teach her students. Maybe other teacher are just jealous, I don't know. I know what, I would rather be on a playground dancing with 4 th graders, than in a teacher's meeting any day...	...It has been good the last three weeks teaching. It has not been horrible. I have had the class under control. We had some hard times with one or two children, but because I am in a structured classroom and I have kept her routines and tried a few things, it has gone well...	...I feel like I have matured. Kind of gotten hard to things, not in a bad way, but like I don't go home every night and cry. It is like, you know. Anthony's mom is a prostitute, and that is just how it is...
MIA	...he is the boy, excuse me, from hell...He has no respect for adult authority... ...I mean the kids, I must admit some days they got on my nerves... ...I just feel so let down cause I cant' deal with	In my opinion, it does not make sense for a grown up to have to sit and argue with a child because the child is way out of line. I am at a point where I do not know what to do...To my surprise I have tried yelling at him..	I guess I am learning to be more patient and deal with my anger before I say something to him or to any of them for that matter. You know they do stuff that is just so crazy, or ridiculous	...It is easy to feel sorry for the kids, and there is nothing wrong with that, but you have to understand that that is where they come from and that is their life and they are accustomed to it. We might not like it, but they live it every day...

Table 8. (continued)

INTERN	CONFLICT	DISEQUIL- IBRIUM	ACCEPTANCE	EMPOWERMENT
		THE PUPIL		
MIA Continued	this child. This is a child that I try to avoid sometimes or I tiptoe around. I hate that.	...I am going a whole different avenue than I was. I'm] just trying to hold my ground.		
SHELLY	...I think all of them would see me as a friend, not really as a teacher... ...I think I'm going to kill him...I really do. I just don't know what to do... ...I have to get some kind of control over him....	...I know I don't know how to handle discipline. I mean I knew that. I knew that would be my worst [area]... ...I don't like it because I don't want to be like that. I don't want to be the screaming teacher or physically restrain children...	...I don't think I would go, 'they are just doing that, because I was, I would go, 'Oh, they can handle that....they are just being mean.' But I look at it and say, 'I wonder what is happening?'...	...Shelly did not achieve this phase of development with her children. The class make up was such that the experienced mentoring teacher found it difficult to teach the pupils as she had other classes in the past.

children's lives were simply the way they were. Believing that one could naively enter their culture and change everything was foolish.

Both Julie and Mary expressed anger with the university for failing to better prepare them for the disruptive situations that they had been placed in. They both wished that someone had been more honest with them. Nevertheless, by dealing with numerous pupils and the pupils' environments, they had both acquired the skills necessary to distance themselves, maintain classroom control, and perform their duties. By the last interview, Mary proclaimed that she "loved walking in there in the morning." During her final interview, Shelly continued to discuss the ups and downs she experienced with her pupils. She was still unable to distance herself enough from the particulars of the situation or to embrace a less emotional stance. I was unable to find any portion of her text that indicated that Shelly had entered the empowerment phase on this particular issue.

The Intern's Silences

It was interesting to note that the interns only rarely discussed the curriculum. Very few talked about their teaching styles or development, except perhaps in the context of their mentoring teacher. Also, few discussions focused on how to evaluate the pupils. These omissions were surprising given the amount of time the university spent preparing the interns to deal with these specific issues. Schools and education are usually supposed to be about curriculum, evaluation, and teaching!

Fuller and Brown (1975) concluded that student-teachers become less concerned about themselves and more concerned about their pupils as time passes. Fuller maintained

that four "stages" were articulated by the student-teachers she had observed and that these stages were defined in terms of what concerned the student-teachers rather than what the student-teachers were actually accomplishing. I came to similar conclusions in this study. However, it was typically not until Fuller's fourth stage that student-teachers were thought to express concerns about the emotional needs of their pupils and about their own abilities to relate well to pupils. Fuller noted that student-teachers are normally overwhelmed with feelings of inadequacy, by circumstances, and by interpersonal conflicts. Student-teachers do not learn to set aside these feelings "until they have learned to cope with more urgent tasks, such as being heard above the din" (Fuller, & Brown, 1975, p. 39).

The present study found the exact a pattern opposite to that described by Fuller and Brown (1975) regarding the timing of student-teachers concerns about pupils. The dramatic conditions of life in inner-city schools were so overpowering that for most of the year the interns could only discuss the needs of their pupils. As noted, there was virtually a complete absence of discussion about curriculum and teaching strategies. This absence might best be explained as due to the intense pressures on the interns as they learned to accept life in inner-city schools.

CHAPTER 11

WHAT DID THEY REALLY TELL US...

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study looked at the experiences and perceptions of five talented women interns who spent eight months teaching in the inner-city schools. Their stories were unique. Their stories were powerful. Each experience revealed an array of emotions and understandings. Future interns might learn from these experiences and build upon them to create richer experiences for themselves. Mentoring-teachers might also learn from the stories told here to discover just how difficult a time this is for the interns as well as the powerful influence they have on aspiring young teachers. Finally, teacher-training personnel, university instructors, supervisors, and school evaluators might glean fresh insights into the process and experiences of interns.

It is perhaps obvious to say that teaching in inner-city schools can be extremely difficult. A problematic situation is generated by poor funding, inadequate supplies, high rates of sexual and physical abuse, high incidences of violence, crime and drugs, racial tension, and the often low value placed on education. Teachers willing to try and overcome these difficulties in order to teach children have to be admired. Student-teachers willing to enter this environment deserve only the highest praise. However, they need to be monitored for risk of early burnout.

Most student-teachers undergoing school placements find it a time of anxiety and self-doubt. Great personal changes are taking place. In this study, these processes were observed through the voices of five women interns. Each described high levels of anxiety, frustration, and in some cases, fear. They also described exhilaration as they achieved acceptance of the new realities.

The interns in this study articulated a sense of purpose and determination not mentioned in previous research. Although prior studies by Pilard (1993), Sitter (1982), Fuller (1975), Iannaccone (1963), and others, have attested to the difficulties and uncertainties experienced by student-teachers, these studies were limited to 13 to 20 weeks of observation in suburban, middle-class environments. More research is required on the experience of interns spending a year practice teaching and especially when they are teaching in inner-city schools.

Previous research on student-teachers has encompassed a wide variety of topics and concerns. The results from the present study have corroborated some of these findings but disputed others. For instance, I found that interns in this study had to adopt a more authoritarian set of attitudes toward discipline than is typical in order to establish boundaries for the pupils but sometimes also in order to satisfy the requirements of mentoring-teachers.

Both Julie and Mary strongly recommended that future interns not waste time before establishing clear boundaries. Julie indicated that these "children beg for boundaries in their lives." Glassberg and Sprinthall (1980) concluded in their work:

"Results indicate a multiplicity of concrete and clearly negative findings -- student-teachers become more authoritarian, rigid, impersonal, restrictive, arbitrary, bureaucratic and custodial by the end of their student-teaching experiences" (p. 14). As noted, the interns in this study did adopt a more authoritarian and restrictive nature. However, they were not "rigid, impersonal...and custodial by the end of their student-teaching experiences" (Glassberg and Sprinthall, 1980, p. 14). Indeed, the interns in this study felt sufficiently empowered by their teaching skills and abilities to eagerly want to begin teaching. This may have been partly due to the length and duration of the internship in this study when compared to the more usual 9-12 week student-teaching experience.

This study supports Walberg (1968) who found that student-teachers were in conflict between their desire to create friendly rapport with pupils and their need to maintain authority and discipline. Balancing between rapport and authority caused much conflict throughout the year. Two interns whose mentoring-teachers did not allow them to become overly friendly to pupils (Mia and Jillian) maintained strict, authoritative classrooms. Subsequently, neither Mia nor Jillian found this to be a serious issue. Julie's proclamation, on the other hand, that "I'd rather be dancing with 4th graders..." reflected (and may have helped cause) a great deal of her internal conflict. All five recommended that the university advise future interns to establish clear boundaries with their pupils as soon as they begin teaching, rather than trying to become their friends.

The findings of this study supported and then went beyond those of Lantz (1964) regarding the importance of developing self-confidence in student-teachers. Lantz (1968)

maintained that student-teachers be placed in non-threatening classrooms so that their sense of self-efficacy could grow. It is safe to assume that student-teachers preferred being placed in environments that nurture self-esteem. However, with the severity of practice teaching in inner-city schools, this concept is challenged. The process of development found in this study indicated that interns develop a sense of maturity or self-efficacy by first accepting, and then embracing, very difficult situations. The environments were not at all conducive to building self-esteem (as generally considered). However, the internal process of conflict resolution (dissonance reduction) almost forced the interns to build their confidence (as recognized by them reaching the stage of maturity).

Mentoring-teachers are crucial for developing self-esteem in student-teachers. The importance of such in the inner-city is vital. Nevertheless, in this study, each intern's sense of growth, maturity and well-being developed as a result of conflict resolution. The interns were able to rise above the conflicts and difficulties they encountered. They were not cushioned from the harsh realities of teaching in the inner-city. In comparing the two interns at Washington Pike Elementary, Julie and Mary, it was possible to observe how very different their experiences were. Julie's mentoring teachers were generally supportive and concerned about her development. Mary's mentorin-teachers, on the other hand, were either extremely rigid, "yelling and screaming at the students" or so flexible that no planning at all took place. After Mary moved a third time and found a sensitive teacher with a more balanced style, she began to enjoy teaching.

The results from this study supported Iannaccone's (1963) findings, that "student-teaching is seen as a transitional period during which the student's perspectives undergo a radical change" (p.73). He claimed that as student-teachers gained confidence in their abilities, they entered the third and final stage of teaching development. He maintained that social distances decreased between student-teachers and mentoring-teachers as they spend more time together and as the student-teachers make the transition to becoming teachers. The interns studied here indicated that the same "radical change" took place. However, each intern's relationship with her mentoring teacher was highly personal and no overly general conclusion can be drawn.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the results found here and those from previous studies was the time of onset of the student-teachers' concerns about the needs of their pupils. Fuller (1975) indicated that student-teachers have common concerns that unfold in regular sequence, beginning with self and progressing to pupils. Fuller indicated that inexperienced student-teachers are focused on self and are not usually concerned about teaching at all. Over time, student-teachers pass through three stages of development with stage one characterized as concerned with self, stage two as concerned with teaching tasks, and stage three (which few reached) as a search for knowledge "beyond the needs of the moment" (Sitter, 1982, p. 205).

The findings of the present study suggest that interns have several common issues of concern. However, it does not support Fuller's (1975) notion that the specific concerns or issues follow a developmental sequence beginning with concerns for self and ending

with concerns for others. Indeed, the reverse was found. The intense nature of the environment forced the interns to focus on the needs of their pupils from the very outset. Fuller's stage one, concern for self, was not apparent in any of the five interns. They were all focused from the outset on the emotional well-being of the pupils. Concern for self was reflected in frustration at not being able to improve the pupils' living conditions. Thus, contrary to Fuller's (1975) observations, the concerns for self and others did not occur in a "fairly regular sequence" but took place simultaneously with each other and were ongoing throughout the year.

The present study explored the experiences of interns in the inner city and concluded that they experienced a great deal of conflict while learning to cope with a very different culture than those they had been raised in. The present study also explored the manner in which the interns progressed through their conflicts over the course of a year. The following discussion makes recommendations and suggestions that might help future researchers, colleges of education, and public-schools to gain maximum benefit from those interns who desire to serve in inner-city schools.

Research

Further research should be carried out to explore the impact that interning in the inner-city has on interns. The women in this study had an exhausting year. Each faced new challenges and had to learn to cope effectively. Questions arising from the observations recorded in this thesis include: "What long range impact did this year have on these women?" "Did it make them more resilient and better able to manage the

pupils?" "Or, did the stress of the year exhaust them so that, like Mary, they lost their desire to teach?" "How effective as teachers will they be next year and in the years to come?" and "How many will pursue jobs in the inner-city?"

It would be interesting and of benefit to follow-up these five interns over the next several years and observe their teaching and record their experiences. Future research might be designed to focus less intensively on initial events, as this thesis did and be more longitudinal in scope. Surveys might also be conducted of existing teachers to determine what their most valuable experiences had been in their training, especially inner-city schools.

Further research might also be conducted to validate the model of conflict resolution used here. Conflict is a natural part of most interns' experiences as they progress from neophyte to professional. Generalization of this model might help professionals in teacher-preparation programs to better understand the conflicts and states of dissonance found among other student-teachers. For example, one question arises is whether the phases of conflict-resolution found in this study applies to other interns in situations different from those operating in the inner-city? The present results suggest that not only is there a high degree of conflict in the student-teaching experience, but that developing and for using an internal conflict resolution mechanism is part of the process.

Further research is also needed on the relationship between the affective and cognitive needs of interns in the inner-city schools. Techniques in teaching, intellectual strategies, and skill driven curricula are important aspects of teaching. However, teaching

in the inner-city school requires not only academic knowledge, but also mature, resilient, and capable teachers. Focusing only on curriculum, classroom management, and techniques of instruction to the exclusion of the feelings and emotions produced by the student teaching experience ignores the intern's growth and development.

University

As the primary researcher for this study, I felt a strong need to help these interns during the course of the year. Yet, I was unable to do as much as I would have liked. In the future, university course work needs to provide, in a non-threatening environment, examples of how to deal with typical crisis situations that arise. The single most audible plea from all five interns was a desire to be better prepared for the atypical (for them) circumstances and situations they found themselves in. Strategies need to be designed (e.g., case studies, films, speakers, discussion groups) to prepare interns for the situations that await them. For example, sexual abuse and violence were common and ongoing in many classrooms. These young women were simply not prepared for these situations. Further, disruptive behavior is of an intensity not normally encountered. This too needs to be addressed.

In line with the above, it might be useful to blend methods courses with theory courses to create a more cohesive and meaningful whole. Each intern complained that both the theories and "cute" lesson plans they received at the university did not help them when first graders were screaming obscenities.

Thus course work might help the interns cope better with 'at risk' pupils rather than only providing theoretical reasons for why pupils are 'at risk' in the first place. Special education pupils, 'crack babies,' and numerous other drug-related problems set many pupils severely back in development. Special education courses, crisis management skills, and behavior modification techniques might become a salient part of the courses. Interns need to be knowledgeable and well practiced in handling these classroom problems.

Serving as a supervisor to other interns working in inner-city schools, I realized it was critical to establish and maintain open lines of communication. Several interns in this study felt isolated in having to deal with the confusion they experienced above. Communication networks might be enable interns to feel supported. Interns often felt trapped and powerless, especially during their first weeks. University supervisors are viewed as 'outsiders' whose prime responsibility is to evaluate. These interns needed a resource person who could coordinate between the needs of the student-teacher, the university, and the school, and who also understood the school's culture.

Throughout this study, while working with a variety of student-teachers and interns in inner-city settings, I recognized my shortcomings in relating to the experiences encountered by the interns. Future university instructors and supervisors teaching in the Urban/Multiculture cohort might be required to have prior experience of teaching in inner-city schools. Interns look to their instructors for advice and help during the year. The

credibility of the advice given is often gauged partly on the basis of the previous experience of the instructors.

Public Schools

Two suggestions are directed at the schools in which interns are placed. .

Mentoring teachers have enormous influence on interns. Although most mentoring-teachers are in fact good, occasionally some are not. Therefore, specially skilled and knowledgeable mentoring-teachers might be identified and trained. Mentoring teachers need to demonstrate sensitivity and understanding towards the interns and recognize the importance of this year. A little training might go a long way.

One possibility is that 'career ladder' teachers who have proven themselves to be 'master teachers' could be used to help train mentoring-teachers. Another possibility is that closer supervision of interns by university personnel be implemented to support the interns. Supervisors might also play a role in preparing the intern for the administrative school evaluation. Having school principals and university supervisors evaluate interns is very stressful for them.

Interns

My final suggestions are directed toward the interns. Interns might be given more advance notice of what awaits them. Knowledge of the working model provided in this study might be given to interns to help prepare them. Some of the most useful findings in this regard are that: (a) conflict is inevitable; (b) feelings of dissonance are normal and indeed can be viewed as part of the maturation process; (c) growth does take place,

albeit, slowly and sometimes painfully; and (d) feelings of maturity may be experienced by those who continue and are able to adapt.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENTS

Dear Intern,

I would like to invite you to participate in a study to help identify the experiences of interns during their final year of the College of Education Master's Program at UTK. More specifically, I am searching for understanding of the developmental stages that the internship year brings.

In order to do this effectively, I would like to interview each of you several times during the course of the year. The purpose is to better understand the "what and why" of experiences you will find especially meaningful to you. These interviews will generally last an hour or two and will require you to respond to a few open-ended questions regarding your experiences. Each interview will be audio-taped and transcribed. You will be given a copy of each interview along with my comments and thoughts. In addition, I would like to use the your weekly written reflections throughout the year concerning your expressed thoughts, feelings, and experiences. It is expected that my reflections back to you regarding the interviews and weekly reflections will help you to better understand your own capabilities of a developing teacher. Final reports will be available to all participants. Your response will be held in confidence using a pseudonym instead of your real name. In order to insure this, I ask you to choose a name (pseudonym) which has no relationship to your real name. This pseudonym will be used on all audiotapes, transcripts, and reports in this research report.

All consent forms, interview tapes, and reflections related to this study will be kept in a locked file in my office. I will keep your consent forms for a period of three years and will keep the audiotapes for five years. At this point the tapes will be erased.

I do plan to share these findings with the scientific community. When results are shared through a dissertation, or published professional journal, only pseudonyms will be used in relation to people and places.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you may withdraw from participating at any time or refuse to answer specific questions **without incurring any penalty**.

I appreciate you taking the time to read this letter to consider becoming participant in this study. Please feel free to contact me any time, or my advisor, if you have further questions about the project or about your participation.

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Participation Consent Form

I am aware that the purpose of this study is to understand the experiences and perceptions of interns in the Urban/Multicultural Teacher Education Program at Washington Pike Elementary and Carter Elementary Schools. My participation will require responding to open-ended questions on several audiotaped interviews. I understand that the weekly written reflections will also be used as part of the data base for this study.

I am fully aware that all of my responses will be held in the strictest confidence by the researcher, with pseudonyms used instead of real names.

Further, it has been made clear to me that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that I may withdraw from participation at any time, and/or refuse to answer specific questions without incurring any penalty. There are no anticipated risks involved. The benefits to me are in the process of reflecting and responding to the research questions and also in the knowledge gained from the project findings.

In addition, I understand that the researcher will store all consent forms, interview tapes, transcriptions, and other written documents related to this study in a locked file in his office and will keep my consent form for a period of three years. The audiotapes will be kept for five years and will then be erased.

I also understand that the researcher will share his findings with the scientific community. When results are shared through a dissertation and possibly in professional journals, pseudonyms will be maintained confidentiality of identity. No individual responses could be identified by a reader.

I understand that I may contact the researcher at any time if I have further questions about the project or about my participation in it.

Signature: _____

Name: _____ (please print)

Date: _____

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Number 1 August.

- Tell me about yourself
- Tell me how you came to be in Cultural studies program at the university?
- Tell me about your experiences so far in the field experiences and course work. What has happened to you up to this point?
- What are your expectations of the upcoming year?
- How do you think a child in your class would describe you?

Interview Number 2. Late November

- Tell me a story about an experience you have had working in this inner city school.
- Elaborate on one particular experience and discuss how that impacted your teaching.
- Think about an experience you had with a student and tell me about it.

Interview Number 3. Early March

- Tell me about working in the inner city.
- Tell me about how you are growing, as a person and as a teacher by working here.
- Think of a particular student in your class. Tell me a story about him/her.

Interview Number 4. May.

- Tell me the story of this past year working in this inner city school.
- What experiences stand out for you the most.
- How has this experience affected you?
- Describe the relationship between the course work that you received and the internship.
- What has been the most helpful in aiding you in becoming a teacher this year?
- What areas do you feel have hindered you from becoming a teacher? How did you overcome this?
- Tell me what you feel helped you and what would help other interns cope with this important year?

APPENDIX C
EXAMPLES OF WRITTEN REFLECTIONS
"SUMMARIES"

JULIE

Reflection #1 - Scared

Julie talked about her feelings and her concerns about what is going on in the room. Her primary fear was that she would not gain the children's respect since the pupils were not listening to her. Her mentoring teacher also appeared to be mean to the children. Julie believed that God had placed her in this room to be a light for the children.

Reflection #2 - Humiliation

This reflection centered upon the humiliation that a child must have felt as a result of comments by Julie's mentoring teacher. The child had forgotten to follow all of the prescribed routine assignments, his mentoring teacher spoke to him in a manner that had been degrading and hurtful.

Reflection #3 - Kaci - Dead Cat

Another reflection that described how a child had not been treated humanly by the teacher. Julie wrote the story from the a young girl's perspective, describing how she felt when her brother killed her cat the night before and how her teacher had not been sensitive to her needs.

Reflection #4 - Joshua Expelled

Julie described another child who had been suspended from school. A young boy became angry when he could not spell words from his spelling list. The boy's anger got him into trouble as he spoke back to the teacher. Julie had many questions about trying to understand and help these children. She had no answers.

Reflection #5 - Field Trip - Noise

This reflection outlines the field trip to a local natural reserve. Julie described her frustrations when she perceived that other teachers did not approve of her interactions with the children. She wants to talk and have fun with the students, while the other teachers want them to be quiet.

Reflection #6 - Doug - Ritlin

Reflection centered on a young boy who was required to take medication to calm him down at school. Julie questioned the motive behind giving children Ritlin. She wonders if giving the medication is for the student's sake or for the teacher to maintain control.

Reflection #7 - Riddle

A poem regarding the contradictions that Julie felt.

Reflection #8 - Profiles and Attitudes

Julie described her frustration with some of the children's home life and her inability to cope with these difficulties. She questioned whether she could handle working in this situation, particularly between her situation and some of the other interns who were in a more affluent environment.

Reflection #9 - Inner City

Three children's lives were described and how they were viewed as problem kids, or kids with an attitude. In each case, Julie wrote as though she were the child and how the system was unable to sympathize with that child.

Reflection #10 - Teachers Actions

The question Julie was attempting to find answers to is 'How are teachers suppose to act?' Julie asks numerous questions and make a mockery of the teaching profession in how it treats children. Julie is seriously questioning her role as a teacher and how other teachers view her.

Reflection #11 - University concerns

Julie expresses concern with what she has learned at the university and how to apply that knowledge to inner-city children. She feels as though there are some serious gaps in her education course work and working with 'at risk' children.

APPENDIX D
A SAMPLE OF QUOTES TAKEN FROM INTERVIEWS
"CHILDREN"

MARY: CHILDREN**INTERVIEW 1**

I mean, it's like, and I like to laugh, and they say things that like totally blow my mind. (Laughs) There's not a day that goes by that I'm shocked about something they've said. I don't know... it's great. They give you a lot. (P. 5)

As far as discipline, I got most of my training....I worked in daycare for two and a half years, I kind of know what works and what doesn't work, I mean kids of kids, and some things do and some things don't. And kids are different,

I'm attracted to these ones that are like the trouble makers and those are like the ones that I cling to the most and they probably cling to me, but uh, the trouble makers, I don't know they're the ones that I like the best, they end up being, but um, this kid, I've seen so much worse, this kid doesn't even compare. And yeah, he'd make noises in class or he'd do, you know, he'd try to get other people's attention, he's hyperactive, I don't know I've been bit before and kicked, you know, by other children I've had in daycare. He just didn't compare, so, I don't know

Daycare is very good experience for me because I had really bad kids. You don't know if they had problems in their lives, you really don't know. I had four year olds at one point, I had three year olds, and you don't really know, they're open, but you don't really know what's going in their lives, but I had some that were out of control, because they'd hit other kids and bite and get them in the neck like and try to strangle them and stuff, ya know, I had some really strange children in this daycare place and it just really wasn't the same as...I just haven't seen another child that has acted like these children in daycare so my tolerance level...

INTERVIEW 2 - NOV. 18TH

My teacher said that almost every child in the school has either seen someone slain or in the process of being slain. They sleep in bathtubs...I was prepared for a lot of this but I didn't realize there was that much violence that went on in the community as there was.

I mean I had a child call me the other night crying because I am leaving the classroom and I just didn't know what to do. But when I talk to them, I don't baby them. They know the difference between right and wrong and I don't let them get away with...just because they have bad situations, get away with...just because they have bad situations, get away with being bad because they think I will feel sorry for them or something

He has been sexually abused. His mother is a prostitute...my teacher had him the year before. His mother's street name is Cocaine. She is known for stealing drugs,

prostitution, you know, this child has seen a lot. And he came up and pinched me on the bottom and I didn't know what to do....

All I know is he was looking at me and the next think I know, he runs up, pinches me on the butt and sits back down. My initial reaction was just to laugh because I was shocked (p. 150)... *See teachers reaction*

I hope Mrs. Rose isn't mad at me. I didn't mean to do that. She was like, 'she's not, you just don't need to do that again.' I think if you apologize to her it will be OK. And he did apologize.

Walking in the morning you have children coming in and sometimes they look so angry at the world that they could kill somebody. I mean they walk in and slam their books down on the desk...just filled with rage and as much as I can do is just to go pat them on the back and try to calm them down. See a child..the morning and hearing them calling each other names and that I can't believe...

"Your mom smokes chronic, which is marijuana. Your mom's a prostitute. Having a child come up to me and say, 'Do you know Anthony's mom? Her name is Cocaine, she beat him with an extension cord last night.'"

Third grade. Eight years old. Your momma is on crack. Your momma is in jail. You don't have a momma. Everything is about their momma. And they are real defensive about that. Telling me that another child is dealing drugs.

Fights all the time. I can deal with that. It doesn't stress me out. It is that they are wanting to fight all the time. Actually saying, I am going to kill you. And you know working with a child and if he writes an answer down wrong, that he gets so mad that he crumples the paper up and throws it on the ground. And it's not like just one, it is several of them that just get so mad. They have no patience whatsoever. *See conflict (p.152)*

They just want me by their desk. Most of the time they know the answer. They just want me there. They want to touch my hand or touch me somehow. They are real touchy. Most of the children are black....African American. They are real curious about my hands and my hair. Since my hair is long.

They are always very clingy. And hugs...I get millions of hugs every day. Really just hanging on me. Just wanting that little bit of gratification of being touched. It is sometimes very draining. *See discussion with teacher...*

I have had two threaten to hit me. It doesn't scare me, but my teacher says that they are to go talk to Dr. P....If they threaten that is..it has to be documented.

...But as soon as Mr. Yiles leaves the room, he lashes out at me... He totally defies me. He has no respect for me whatsoever. ... (154) ...I thought oh well, I thought these children respected me, but then...

The second time I had them to myself, they were more respectful. I know that they are worst for substitutes than they are for me so there is some respect. They do know I am a student at the university and that I am not their real teacher, so...IT is hard being an intern because it's not your classroom

I have had a child bust her head open and not cry. I was like how can you not cry? She got hit with a swing. I know that they have a lot of strength. They also break down, too. Every child in my class has cried, even boys. They just start crying sometimes. I guess the anxiety level is just so high.

They just cannot focus. That is the problem I see with these children, they cannot focus. It is hard to focus.

I have a little boy who is in my class and he has been my inspiration this year because he went to Crafton School. He had been in a foster home. His mother is a drug addict...and somehow he is back with her. He actually was in resource for reading. He was learning disabled or something... I mean here is this child who has this terrible home life and he is just doing so great and he cares. ... This is a child that I get the feeling takes care of everything. He gets up and makes his breakfast and he gets dressed and he gets to school by himself. It is not because of his mom.

I want to have a baby. I have a feeling that a lot of them will get soaked into that vicious cycle where they want to have a baby. These children don't talk about marriage, they say "I am gonna have a baby at this certain age".

Kids would say to me, "Ms. Julie if you would wear short skirts and short tops you could get you a boyfriend. Stuff like that." (156)

I have two children...who have spoken about suicide.(156-157)...actually there had been some man that had threatened to kill her in the neighborhood, and she was really scared of him. The child's mother is in jail.... Dad just got out of jail.

APPENDIX E
EXAMPLE OF MARY'S ORAL REFLECTIONS
"A SAMPLE"

MARY'S ORAL REFLECTIONS

August 30 Th.

I had never been to Washington Pike Elementary before, and I am real interested in the community and stuff. And so I wrote about how I drove through there and how the little girl was shot in the drive-by shooting last year and the only time I had ever seen Washington Pike Elementary was on T.V. And so when I was driving through I thought about that day again and I just really ...my senses..it was just really a very weird feeling. Should I just turn around? I mean I have always wanted to be an inner city school teacher and that is my passion. But I am like 'do I really have the strength to do this?' I was just looking at everything around me and it was like...there was no life there. It was on an inservice day and it was like there was no life there in the projects. There is a sense of peacefulness that is just so ironic. As I walked into the school, I was expecting this..it is not a real well kept school 'cause it is so old, and the ceilings were falling in and they need money to fix it, and they just do not have it. And when I walked in and the teachers were just so excited, to be there and it kind of warms them when they know that there are other people who are interested in inner city children. And my teacher wanted to be there. I asked him if he picked this job or what. He said he really wanted inner city and the challenge. So, it is like we bonded because of that, and he isn't there just for a check.

S: Do you feel like you have the strength?

M: I don't know. I almost lost it the other day. I am not a person who cries. I am pretty strong when it comes to children and stuff. I don't really get attached like in day care and stuff but this class is just different than anything I have ever experienced before and I am really attached to them already. I already talked to an assistant yesterday and she lost two kids in the last two years. One of them committed suicide and one of them was in fourth grade and she was shot by her brother and killed. And I was like if that happened to me could I really handle losing a child, and do I need to let go and not be attached. I was like 'did you not ever want to be in the system and ever be attached again?' and she said it was really hard. There is a little boy who had breakfast the other morning and he was just shaking in the line and I asked the kindergarten teacher what was wrong with him. She said well, they don't know. They think he has lead poisoning. I was like, well, why isn't something being done? And she was like he lives with his grandmother and I am assuming he got it from the paint. They live in a really old house, but she was like the school was arranging for an MRI, but she said there is a lot of sexual abuse in that family and a lot of drug abuse. It brought me closer to him and I went to talk to him just because I felt so sorry for this child. He is the sweetest little boy. I don't know. It was very, very weird. His sister was sitting next to him and she would not even tell me her name. You can tell that there is so much abuse in the family and you have no control over it.

S: You said that in the past you have kind of had a shield up and you haven't really made a connection with the kids so much. Why is this different? Why is this class different?

Sept. 1

M: I had a situation this week. My main concern is not discipline. I laugh a lot. I can't be serious. I mean I can but they say stuff and my teacher gets really mad and I turn around and just go outside and laugh because it helps get through some stuff. I wink at them and do everything I possible can. My teacher is not real controlling and we have a great relationship, but something happened this week that really bothered me. I have really gotten in touch with these kids. I can tell you about every one of them. But there is one who is the behavior problem, and he is ADHD and hasn't had his medicine and he is bouncing off the wall and I encourage him and he does better. I feel like I kind of save him from getting in trouble some times if I encourage him. Tuesday he came in, and usually he is smiling and laughing ear to ear, he is always trying to get other kids in trouble, but anyway he came in 30 minutes late. Not too many are late, cause they get breakfast. He looked so mad. He looked like he could kill somebody. He walked to his desk and I noticed it and before I could get up, his mother came in the classroom and started yelling at him. She went to his desk and he had tears in his eyes, and this is not a child who cries, and so she like feels of his head. He said I don't feel good. I am sick. He is still in this mood an hour later. I talked to my teacher and said that I thought he should go home because he obviously didn't feel good. He agreed. He called and went home. The next day he came in even later and he looked really bad. I thought his mother must be yelling at him or something at home. He throws up 5 times within an hour and a half. This is what bothers me about my teacher, and he has told me that he has been accused of being insensitive sometimes, and I think this is where the balance comes, but he is like "I really don't think you are sick." I mean he threw up all over the bathroom. I went downstairs and I think that Mr. Young knew I was really concerned so he let him call his mom. He asked her to come and get him and I could tell she was saying "No." I talked to her and she said he drank milk with his cereal this morning and he is not supposed to have milk. It seemed strange to me that she would give him milk if he was allergic to it. For the rest of the day, he was OK. Yesterday, he came in very late and he was really frustrated. I went over there and the first thing I did was to ask for a hug and it really calmed him down. Then he went to Chapter 1 and I had gone to make some copies. And while I was out of the room he got in a fight with his best friend in the class, so my teacher brought him to the office and my teacher asked me to come in there. I was really confused and I looked at the secretary and she is like is that Justin?

APPENDIX F

**INDIVIDUAL TABLES REPRESENTING
THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT**

JULIE

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Empowerment
Julie is a twenty-three year old white woman who believes the following about herself... "I have an older brother and a younger brother. I had a great family growing up..." ...So anyway they got a divorce. It was very hard on us. From like ten to fourteen I lived with my mom. So we moved into a one story house where me and my mom were sharing a bedroom, and then in eighth grade moved to a trailer Middle of my eighth year we moved to a Dallas, Texas I grew up Episcopal...I was baptized when I was younger we were only there [Dallas] six months...we lived in an apartment with my mom. We had no phone, the bill got too high, no air conditioner. Her boyfriend had left her for another lady..	"his mother was found naked, begging for sex..." "a fourth grader would scream at a teacher, 'Kiss my black ass!'" "I mean seeing fourth grade girls and knowing that they may be sexually active and finding notes that would blow you away..." "What do you do with a mom who is a prostitute who comes in drunk to meetings" "Washington Pike Elementary is very inner-city, 99% free lunch, very poor "What do you do when a kid comes to me and says, 'my brother was killed in a gang last night' I need to know what to do. "one little girl drew an erect penis with stuff coming out...I found a dirty note that said, 'he is so fine...I love his ass and his big dick" "...these kids' lives are so messed up, because they are at the Boys or Girls club until like 8:00 in the evening. Their parents are just	<u>SELF</u> Conflict ...I don't know what the future holds. I don't know if I'm supposed to be a teacher ... Like inner-city ministry, that would be more my job (I1 - pg. 8). Disequilibrium ...it is almost like the only relationship I know with inner-city kids is what I had the past two summers....so now, I don't know the typical 'I'm a teacher, you're a student' kinda relationship so I'm not going to do that because I don't like it... Growth ...I would say that I have grown a lot. And I can't tell you that I want to teach, I don't think I do. I love getting to know the kids. I think I have realized that I do not want to teach.... Empowerment ??? Given the constant struggle with herself, I do not believe Julie reached the 'Empowerment' phase of self... The following quote describes her overall feelings: "I have grown up a lot. I was twenty-one when I started, and now I am twenty-three and I feel like an old woman. It has worn me out. " (J13 - 47) <u>CHILD</u> Conflict ...I don't think I've gotten to know the kids enough. I'm so focused on discipline that it is like it puts this barrier between us. (I1 - pg. 8) Disequilibrium ...Julie will continue to let her child-like strengths be used to teach her students. Maybe other teacher are just jealous, I don't know. I know what, I would rather

I feel like the Lord saved me from sex and all that kind of stuff back then. When I was fourteen I went and lived with my Dad. ...I'm living in my old, nice two-story house. I became a Christian when I was fifteen I'm still a virgin, I've never been drunk I feel without the Lord...I would have messed around My strongest desire is to be a light in people's lives Now my Dad is remarried and my mom is remarried I don't date that much because, I'm just waiting for...a Godly man that's going to pursue righteousness... I mean I have a strong desire to be a wife and a mom, because I never had stability, I never had a church going family, and that is very important to me I'm very extroverted There was this mission trip to Birmingham Alabama...to work with city kids I never have been around	never there. "Seeing a mom running up and down the halls barefoot with no bra on and with greasy hair and smelling bad is no big deal" "Kathy had seen her brother kill her cat..." "I can't wait to go to heaven. Maybe I will get to see my real daddy. He got shot when I was four. My step-daddy just got out of prison and my mom just went in..."	be on a playground dancing with 4th graders, than in a teacher's meeting any day" (JWR - pg. 15) Growth ...It has been good the last three weeks teaching. It has not been horrible. I have had the class under control. We had some hard times with one or two children, but because I am in a structured classroom and I have kept her routines and tried a few things, it has gone well. Empowerment ...I feel like I have matured. Kind of gotten hard to things, not in a bad way, but like I don't go home every night and cry. It is like, 'you know. Anthony's mom is a prostitute,' and that is just how it is. <u>MENTOR</u> Conflict: ...I struggle with my teacher (I1-pg.8) ...I feel like my teacher is very much a dictator (I1 - pg. 10)...I don't know that she knows how to relate to children. ...The teacher was mean and hateful, a real drill sergeant" (JI3 - pg. 31) Disequilibrium: ...I'm scared that I would learn her weaknesses and learn her discipline style... ...When I think of all the teachers in the school who I could have gone with who are total extremes and I got them... Growth: ...I went to her and said, 'Ms. Moyers, do they really need to go to the office?' And it was really hard for me to do that, but I didn't really believe they needed to be there (JI3 - pg. 36) Empowerment: ...I would recommend that the new interns go in hard and even though it breaks your heart to be that way, you have to do it. I think if I had know that in the
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black people very much... Then I had the opportunity to come back the next summer. ...I loved that summer.		beginning, I would have looked at Ms. Smith differently. 'Cause I went in going in, 'How dare she be this way!' I do think she was too extreme but I look at her now and I have a lot more respect for her.
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SHELLY

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Empowerment
Shelly is a twenty-two, single white woman from a middle to upper-middle family who makes the following assertions regarding her life: ...I'm from an upper-middle class family... ...I have a very, very close family... ...My Dad owns a construction company and my mom works for my father... ...I went to a county school...I was raised Southern Baptist... ...I am very conservative and everyone else is very liberal... ...my parents have been married for thirty years... ...they told me that I was culturally insensitive...	"I think because I was raised so that my parents were both there and a big part of my life, it was a shock that people weren't. I always knew that before this year, but it was even bigger than what I thought. Because I didn't think it would be as bad as people said it was and it really is that bad" And the biggest problem with me is when one of the little boy's mom came in and she had been drinking [parent conference night]. And I know his dad just went back to jail and I was like 'how can these parents expect him to even be here.' She was mad at him for making an 'n' in behavior, or a bad grade in behavior and I was like 'how can you expect him'...and we expect it of him, too. We had no idea why his behavior had changed so dramatically. I think that was the biggest experience. (pg. 10)	<u>SELF</u> Conflict ...I'm [here] against [my] parents' wishes... ...I'm okay doing a lesson a week... ...I don't think I would want to be that responsible... ...it was so different now, than it was when we were in school. 'Cause when we walked in we respected our parents... do they [the parents] not teach them respect? Disequilibrium ...I actually screamed today and I never scream, but it had to be done." ...I told my mom, 'I don't think I am going to like it'...I am not sure that I am ready to be in charge... ...I'm afraid that I won't get done what I am supposed to do and I don't want to be in charge... ever. I think I like the behind the scenes team teaching thing... Growth ... I can accept my downfall now. Because I hated it my first evaluation when Ms. Landers said here are some suggestions...I am accepting that much more. Like when she gives me a suggestion I take it and say it is not my fault that I can't do that... Empowerment ...I don't think you can teach anyone how to be a teacher, but once you get in there you have to learn this by yourself... ...Right. I like what I am doing. I really do... ...I enjoy getting up at 5:30 now and that just amazes me because I was the one who slept 'til 11:00 and was late for class.

...I needed help with split homes, divorced families, and those whose parents are in jail...	I don't like it because I don't want to be like that. I don't want to be the screaming teacher or physically restrain children. I don't know but I think there are things that should be done before you do that. You don't just go to restraining a kid like that. (pg. 38)	<u>CHILD</u> Conflict: ...I think all of them would see me as a friend, not really as a teacher... ...I think I'm going to kill him...I really do. I just don't know what to do... ...I have to get some kind of control over him.... ... It is a strange, strange thing. They [the pupils] know that you are not a teacher. But even kindergartners know that you are not the teacher, I think. They really don't understand what I am but they know that Ms. McIntyre is the teacher... Disequilibrium ...I know I don't know how to handle discipline. I mean I knew that. I knew that would be my worst [area]... ...I don't like it because I don't want to be like that. I don't want to be the screaming teacher or physically restrain children... (SI3) Growth ...I don't think I would go, 'they are just doing that, because I was, I would go, 'Oh, they can handle that....they are just being mean.' But I look at it and say, 'I wonder what is happening?'... Empowerment ...Shelly did not achieve this phase of development with her children. The class make up was such that the experienced mentoring teacher indicates that even she found it difficult to teach the pupils, as she had other classes in the past. <u>Mentoring Teacher</u> Conflict ...I'm sorry that I [left] you with him, I should've taken him with me... She knows that [he] does
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		not listen to me, but she goes, 'more and more into the year once I finally get control of him, I will back off and make him listen to you, to get where you can gain control... Disequilibrium .I was pissed when I had to do it [rotate into another class]. I didn't want to do it because was so unorganized. It was just like I was thrown into the classroom... Growth Ms Landers [vice principal] was so positive about it [a lesson being taught]...I used no dittos and she was like...she told me that I was brave for not using dittoes... Empowerment ...out of everything, what helped me the most this past year was working with Ms. McIntyre. Constantly everything I do, she gives me feedback. She tells me that I should try this and she is not negative at all...
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JILLIAN

INTERN'S CULTURE	SCHOOL'S CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Empowerment
Jillian is a twenty-two year old African-American who views herself as... ...I'm the last of three children and live with my Grandmother and mother. ...my mother is a nurse..we did not have a lot of money... ...but I was always afraid to go with him by myself and still today I have to take my mother or somebody with me because I don't want to go by myself.. ...myself, my cousins and brothers were the first generation not to go to Catholic schools ...Grandmother told me I need to pray and to ask God what He wanted me to be... ...I don't think being a black woman...really dawned on me until I got [to university] ...other people make it an issue [being black]. That makes me feel uncomfortable... don't ask me if all black females, just ask me about me.	...Like first graders spitting on people, grown people... ...and the profanities they use in front of teachers and these are the primary grades too, I mean I am not just talking about "ass," excuse me, but bitch, m---f---, f---you. ...the behavior is outrageous. ...in my class the parents have not been eager to get involved. I think a lot of these kids are African-American kids, and they appear, and they act like they are crazy. That's what they want to act like...loud and boisterous. And a lot of the teachers are white teachers and I don't blame them for being afraid..they don't want to break up those fights because of a fear of getting involved... ...It is like a zoo.	<u>MENTOR</u> Conflict My new mentoring teacher...found out Tuesday morning [the same day that the rotation began] that she was to have an intern Disequilibrium "I was not informed about a schedule and I didn't feel good about that at all. I wasn't doing anything in the room. I would ask to do things but there wouldn't be anything to do..." JI2 Growth She was very helpful with that [university course work] because she just got her Ed.D. or Ed.S. So she went through the program and she was very up when she came around and started to talk to me...at first she wouldn't even talk to me. JI2 Enlightenment: I think she is a great teacher...she is usually on the ball with time...she is good with those computers and technology that she incorporates and they are making books. JI3 <u>UNIVERSITY</u> Conflict I can honestly say that I'm not looking forward to taking the [university classes] coming up.. I think I am beyond the point of frustration. I am past frustration because I counted, and I was like, 'We have like eleven' days to get everything done, so I am dealing with it!' JI2

		Disequilibrium ...we [interns] are struggling with that because all week we are teachers until right before we go to Dr. Karl's class.... I know some of the professors think we are neglecting their work. But even when we are in our school, sometimes we forget our own work and neglect the students and I hate it. ...I know Dr. Karl tells us all the time...'don't separate our course work from our internship,' but it is hard to connect the two... Growth To me [looking back] the biggest conflict...we just wanted someone to sympathize with what we were going through.... we want[Ed] to be there [in the public schools] and we didn't want to come to class. Empowerment we are better prepared [than other interns in other programs]. Very much more prepared. We are confident and as far as legal wise, the people in this cohort want to make sure we are doing legal things [sic] and with all of that we are better prepared...
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MIA

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Disequilibrium
Mia is a 22 year old African-American who views herself as follows: "I have a younger brother and I love dogs and I love to do leisure reading... I hate to be around people who are not open-minded. People who are not willing to listen and who won't give you a chance to speak... I went to some of the best schools in.... I grew up with my grandmother and grandfather... I always got E's in conduct and citizenship and I was a good child. I got my share of whippings but over all I was a good child. My parents got divorced... ...being a child you don't even think about being black and being female. And now I can really reflect on that because I am like a double minority...	...I just [have] to come to terms with the facts that some kids are in regular classrooms and have learning disorders... ...Jake...could be either a very lovable child or a nightmare... ...Angrily, he gets back into his seat. This one incident between he and Ms. Silvers upset him for the rest of the morning... ...His mother is on drugs and cannot take care of him and his other siblings.. ..[Jake] has no adult authority... ...I mean she was yelling at him so loud that the entire fourth grade was good for the entire morning... I think it helps because black kids tend to listen to other black adults. Not saying that they really respect me, but it is easier to talk to them cause maybe they think you know what they have been through. You know a lot of slang that they know, so you can really talk to them...	<u>Self</u> Conflict I mean I am just laughing and talking to them and I thought this year I would be really friendly with the kids and laughing and smiling with them. She has definitely advised me against that Disequilibrium But I am struggling with the same thing. I wonder if I will be on her path or my own path. ...Like with Jared, I kind of don't feel successful...kind of [feel] ashamed 'cause I really can't deal with him... Growth: When I first started teaching, I would hear about some of my kids being sexually molested and their families being very poor, and you can look at them and see that, and I used to kind of feel sorry for them and you can have a tendency to show favoritism to those kids, but now I am so used to it that... so I have kind of gotten used to it... Empowerment It is easy to feel sorry for the kids, and there is nothing wrong with that, but you have to understand that that is where they come from, and that is their life and they are accustomed to it. We might not like it, but they live it every day. <u>Mentor</u> Conflict I don't think it will be like I expected it, because I have a teacher who is, her class is going to be very well disciplined and she is stern and some of the teachers think she is mean..

I went to Catholic school until seventh grade and that was the first time I went to public schools...

I want black kids to see black teachers. I am not with the Afro-centric curriculum, but I do want black kids to see black teachers and to see that black people can succeed.

...I didn't say inner-city schools, I just said black schools. Most inner-city schools are filled with black kids. I was like, 'I wanted to be in a school that is a majority of black'...

...Jillian had to break up a fight in the cafeteria. There were a lot of teachers who stood and watched her haul off this child as he was trying to hit a teacher and still fight another child that he was fighting.

I would hear about some of my kids being sexually molested and their families being very poor...

Mentor Continued

Disequilibrium

I am thinking that maybe she is creative or can provide a good lesson, it is just that she has not done it yet. I am kind of anxious to see her teach a lesson to be honest....She went over an English lesson, but she just talked.

Growth

I remember telling you all that she doesn't let my kids go out to play...But now I see exactly why she doesn't, 'cause when you are actually trying to teach, you actually don't have time to teach.

Empowerment

Now, I feel like I have the same authority she does. I feel like a different person than I did last year. ...I have gained more confidence, so much that I get up and teach a lesson and haven't even looked at the lesson, and it is not so bad....I have matured a whole lot...

Child

Conflict

...he is the boy, excuse me, from hell...He has no respect for adult authority...

...I mean the kids, I must admit some days they got on my nerves...

...I just feel so let down 'cause I can't deal with this child. This is a child that I try to avoid sometimes or I tiptoe around...I hate that.

Disequilibrium

In my opinion, it does not make sense for a grown up to have to sit and argue with a child because the child is way out of line. I am at a point where I do not know what to do...To my surprise I have tried yelling at him..

...I am going a whole different avenue than I was. I think that will change things. I am already trying to change my attitude with the kids and I am trying to be stern...[I'm] just trying to hold my ground.

Growth

I guess I am learning to be more patient and deal with my anger before I say something to him or to any of them for that matter. You know they do stuff that is just so crazy, or ridiculous (25)

Empowerment

...I want to teach inner-city kids. But you know that you really can't do the same things with inner-city kids. The teaching activities and stuff, you can't do that kind of stuff with those kids that you could do with others.

MARY

INTERNS CULTURE	SCHOOL CULTURE	Conflict... Disequilibrium... Growth... Empowerment
Mary is a twenty-two year old single white woman, who asserts the following about herself: "Okay, I'm a pretty liberal minded person... ...I have a strong spiritual self... ...Most people know me as a feminist, not a radical.. ...I want everything to be fair...I want everyone to have an equal chance at everything... ...I am drawn to empathy. I am drawn to the needs of the people. ...work for the promotion of myself and women and any minority or even anyone who has had to suffer ...My parents are divorced, I have two real siblings and a half brother. ...My father is an	My teacher said that almost every child in the school has either seen someone slain or in the process of being slain. ...They sleep in bath tubs ...He has been sexually abused. His mother is a prostitute. ...His mother's street name is Cocaine. She is known for stealing drugs ...she was raped in kindergarten..her mother is a drug addict and is in jail ...but in the projects they are allowed to run free and they see crime and violence and they have told me about seeing women laying naked on the ground and asking me to pray for them because this person is laying on the ground naked and say that people come by and rape them all the time and they are drug addicts and see they know about the drugs and gangs... We got into gang stuff...We started looking into it and then we noticed there is an "S" that they always draw. I thought it just	<u>SELF</u> Conflict My whole point was that I wanted to know what I could do as a teacher to break the boundaries, with all the violence and stuff, to actually teach all these great things I have learned to do. Disequilibrium "I am struggling right now. I feel like those boundaries are being crossed all the time. It is confusing to them and it is confusing to me...." (135) ...I went through this period of thinking, is this really what I want to do? Am I really cut out for this... 177 Growth ...The way that I respond to their needs, maybe we understand each other... (158). They are testing me for security... ...It is going to be all right. I don't feel like I am the one in pain. I feel that these children are in pain. I still am empathetic to their problems and, as a teacher, I hope I never lose empathy... Empowerment ...As far as myself, it happen[ed] to me, an awakening... like my eyes have been opened to something. I never realized how violent and stuff the world really is. I think I have been sheltered a long time. I have grown so much as far as maturing this year.....Gosh. My eyes have been opened. ... I think I was naive as to how bad things really are. ...That is how I got so obsessed because I did not know really how I was supposed to deal with it or how I was supposed to feel. I have problems that way anyway. I didn't know how to feel. I almost felt like I was becoming callused in a way. I have learned how to feel appropriately to it. I can't take it home with me, but I was amazed. This is a different world. They don't want to hear the bad stuff, even my friends don't

alcoholic and my mother was a narcotic abuser ...I have been sexually harassed...I've been slammed up against the lockers and had my skirt pulled up, pulled down... pictures drawn... ...I come from a small town... it was recently in the news about a judge that sexually harassed women...and that is how the whole town is. Male dominant and most women that live there are really treated bad...so...I'm kinda fighting my way out... trying to kind of prove to myself that I will never be treated that way. ...I was hit over the head with the books...we had a woman vice principal... I know she saw it, but the women are scared of men... he threatened to kill me. I am a Christian and liberal minded...I come from the Bible belt and have been in church as long as I can remember	looked like a bubble letter. It is the symbol of death and it is on many of the things that they draw She [a pupil in her class] does not live in the projects. She lives in a house and she does not see the violence that alot of the other children see but she has [a] fear of abandonment and she asked me if she can live with all the time. There is always fighting, there is suspension, all that kind of stuff. We have four or five in our classroom that seem to be more aggressive and she is always starting fights constantly. Nothing in college prepares you for this. Not for the inner-city at least. That is a drive by drill in case we actually have a shooting and you go in a position... This is a different world	want to talk about the seriousness of it . I feel like a different person. <u>Environment</u> Conflict ...I was prepared for a lot of this but I didn't realize there was that much violence that went on in the community as there was... Disequilibrium ...My teacher said that almost every child in the school has either seen someone slain or in the process of being slain...People really do get killed. Rape and sexual abuse of children when they are small [does take place]. Growth ...I have kind of become desensitized to it. I was afraid that this was going to happen, but you almost have to. If you don't you can't live your own life and be sane if you knew exactly what happened all the time... 179 Empowerment ...I said you have to go to the back of the line. She screamed in my face and I was really calm. For some reason my patience is like this big now and I told her to go to the office and I would meet her there. And she called me a Fucking Whore!...The other teacher said I had a smile on my face through the whole thing, I just didn't hear it.... <u>Child</u> Conflict ...I still have this kid part in me and it's like tug-a-war inside, ya know, like wanting to be an adult and still being a child... Like I wrote in my reflections, I had a little boy pinch me on my bottom (149) ...Sometimes they look so angry at the world that they could kill somebody.
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		Disequilibrium ...Rape and sexual abuse of children when they are small. I think that a lot of that euphoric world view of mine has been shattered. Growth I don't give as many second chances. You are not supposed to give these children lots of chances...They need those boundaries because they will walk all over you. Empowerment When I first came I was really gentle and nice and they don't trust people like me. That is someone they will run over and take advantage of. They want that structure and boundaries....since I have become more stricter and aggressive as far as my behavior, I have more kids tell me that they love me and warm up to me even more because they see me as an authority and I am going to take care of them....So I love waking up in the morning to come here. <u>Mentor</u> Conflict ...he's more stern than I am, but um, and I hope that I learn a way to have children respect me without having to be so stern Disequilibrium ...I feel I'm disappointing my teacher sometimes. I get that really uncomfortable feeling that I'm being too lenient...I want to learn how to do what he does so gracefully... Growth I work with a great teacher who I didn't understand at first, but now he even says I have changed so much since the beginning of the year. Empowerment He really helps me and every time I have had an
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		observation, he has been really good. He will call me and make sure I have everything down and he really wants me to do good. He is really concerned about his teaching and he cares about the school
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VITA

Stephen Rushton graduated from the University of Tennessee with a Ph.D in Teacher Education and a Masters of Science in Administration and Supervision. During the past two years he taught and supervised graduate/undergraduate student-teachers in elementary education. Stephen has taught public school in both the Canada and the United States during the past twelve years.